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Reagan Instructions to Geneva Negotiators

PM261621 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "United States: They Intend To Abandon the Agreed Position"]

[Text] Washington, 22 Jan—According to the U.S. press, President R. Reagan has approved instructions for U.S. representatives at the Geneva talks to strive to secure the Soviet Union's assent to the controversial "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty, which will permit the testing of SDI elements in space under near-real conditions.

As THE WASHINGTON POST writes today, citing U.S. officials, the President has abandoned the stance occupied at the December summit meeting with M.S. Gorbachev with regard to the SDI program and the 1972 ABM Treaty in response to a secret protest from the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Reagan, the article says, has given new instructions to his representatives at the talks in response to a recent letter from Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sent to Colin Powell, the President's national security adviser. According to the newspaper's data, Crowe wrote in this classified letter that the formula for research within the SDI framework agreed by Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev at the summit meeting is unacceptable.

As is well-known, a joint Soviet-U.S. summit statement on the results of the summit pointed out that, taking into consideration the preparation of a treaty on strategic offensive arms, the two countries' leaders had commissioned their delegations in Geneva to elaborate an accord which would oblige the sides to observe the ABM Treaty in the form signed in 1972 in carrying out research and development and, where necessary, tests permitted under the ABM Treaty and not withdraw from the ABM Treaty for the agreed period.

Reagan, THE WASHINGTON POST writes, charged his representatives at the Geneva talks to seek the Soviet Union's approval for the administration's long-held position, whereby the ABM Treaty must be interpreted as permitting tests in space within the SDI framework under conditions approaching reality.

A majority in both houses of Congress and of Nixon administration staffers, who held talks prior to the conclusion of the ABM Treaty, do not agree with such an interpretation of this treaty, the newspaper stresses. It cites an official as saying that this is a real obstacle to a treaty on strategic armaments. This means that the United States and the Soviet Union will, possibly, never reach an agreement on ABM means, yet the Soviet Union insists that such an agreement is a preliminary condition for reductions in offensive and nuclear armaments.

The administration's official stance in Geneva, THE WASHINGTON POST points out, presupposes the observance of the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty for 7 years, whereas the Soviets are demanding that each side observe this treaty for 10 years. According to the newspaper, Reagan has instructed U.S. representatives at the talks not to discuss the length of time for which both sides are to observe the ABM Treaty until the Soviets agree outright to the so-called broad interpretation.

At the same time Reagan has adopted a recommendation from the the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the State Department that the U.S. draft treaty on ABM systems should demand that both sides give 6 months notification of their withdrawal from the ABM Treaty on the expiration of the agreed period of nonwithdrawal from this treaty.

Comparison of Reagan Instructions to Negotiators

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 23 January in its Second Edition on page 5 carries a TASS report on Reagan's new instructions to negotiators. The TASS report, entitled "New Tricks?", has been compared with the Moscow TASS in English version published in the 25 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 1, revealing the following variations:

column one, paragraph one of the item, sentence one reads in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: ...telling them to seek Soviet agreement to the disputed...(changing wording)

same paragraph, sentence two reads...newspaper WASHINGTON POST writes with a...(omitting "today")

paragraph three, last sentence reads...period of time.

Reagan, THE WASHINGTON POST writes, has instructed his representatives at the Geneva talks to seek Soviet approval of the administration's old position whereby the ABM Treaty is to be interpreted as permitting SDI tests in outer space in close-to-real conditions.

The majority in both houses of Congress and of staffers in the Nixon administration who conducted the talks preceding the conclusion of the ABM Treaty disagree with this interpretation of the treaty, the newspaper stresses. This poses a real obstacle to a strategic arms treaty, according to an official whom it cites. This means that the United States and the Soviet Union will perhaps never reach agreement on ABM systems, and such an agreement, as the Soviet Union insists, is a prior condition for cutting offensive and nuclear arms.

THE WASHINGTON POST writes that the administration's official position in Geneva...(picking up paragraph four, sentence one, supplying two paragraphs and substituting "official" for "formal")

paragraph four, last sentence reads...the Soviets have accepted outright [pryamoy] the so-called broad...(rewording, supplying vernacular)

'Discriminate Deterrence,' INF Analyzed

PM261233 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
24 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Own Observer Manki Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "When the Past Overshadows the Future. United States Develops New Long-Term Strategy. From a 'Call to Arms' to a 'Call to Arms Upgrading.' Sense of Responsibility Must Prevail"]

[Text] It seems indisputable that the past should not overshadow the future, and the future cannot be based on the standards of the past. However, in the political mind this obvious idea sometimes finds it extremely difficult to make headway. Ruling circles in the Western powers are still far from the realization that in the modern world any attempts at strong-arm manipulation or at safeguarding one's own interests at the expense of the interests of others ultimately lead not to success but, on the contrary, to heavy losses. The centuries-old archaic concepts of military superiority, authority, and dominance continue to prevail along with the concomitant syndrome of arms upgrading in response to any disarmament measures or in response to the political problems facing the world in general.

All this comes to mind when one familiarizes oneself with the new U.S. long-term strategy proposed by a group of leading U.S. experts on foreign and military policy.

The report, entitled "Discriminate Deterrence," which this group presented to the President, essentially formulates the basic foundations of the new U.S. foreign policy and military doctrine. For the old doctrine, which Washington was guided by until recently, had turned out to be bankrupt. Even previously it had failed to respond to the real conditions prevailing in the world arena, was now in flagrant contradiction with them, and could no longer serve as an instrument for U.S. political and military leaders.

Indeed, this doctrine was developed some 38 years ago. It was formulated in the National Security Council foreign policy document "NSC 68." The Soviet Union is unambiguously described in the document as an aggressive expansionist power setting itself the goal of torpedoing the Truman Doctrine of containing communism. A Soviet attack, including one involving the use of nuclear weapons, was deemed terrifyingly realistic. In response, "NSC 68" stated, America must build up its own might, step up its already unrivaled potential, and expunge the Soviets' dream of conquest.

Today historical interest mainly focuses on deciding what was the main ingredient of the doctrine: hypocrisy, deliberate falsehood, or undisguised pretensions to "roll back communism" and establish world hegemony. Something else is important. The conclusions of "NSC 68" formed the basis of the arms race launched by the United States and the strategic concepts developed in the

Pentagon of assured destruction, massive retaliation, flexible response, nuclear deterrence, and direct confrontation. Not for nothing did the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT bluntly state with reference to "NSC 68": "It was a call to arms," that is, a call to prepare for and unleash total war on the Soviet Union and other progressive forces.

Yes, it was not the fault of the authors of the document or those who ratified it and were guided by it for almost 4 decades that it proved bankrupt. Such striking changes have taken place in the world that even ultraconservative U.S. circles—and it was their representatives who sat on the commission to draw up Washington's new long-term strategy—cannot fail to have noticed them. They themselves have recognized the need for a reorientation of the military strategy of the United States and its NATO allies taking account of the change in the correlation of forces in the world arena over the last few decades. But the commission was unable to abandon the use of obsolete methods for resolving security problems. If one reads the excerpts from their report that have been published in a number of U.S. newspapers, one can see that the authors erect theoretical edifices that continue to rely on essentially strong-arm approaches and proceed on the basis of the inevitability of military rivalry, the maintenance of confrontation in Soviet-U.S. relations, and the perpetuation of regional conflicts. They even warn that they are by no means proposing a new strategy, merely recommending measures for adapting existing views to changing conditions, and proceed on the basis that the United States and its allies face a need to "repulse a Soviet attack." Furthermore, everything in their document boils down to the following: how to implement the old goal of achieving world domination in a changed world.

It would be wrong to assert that the authors of the document are like ostriches with their heads in the sand. No, all of them—H. Kissinger, Z. Brzezinski, W. Clark, F. Ikle, and others—are knowledgeable and sophisticated people. They can see that the world has changed and they cannot, for instance, overlook this substantive fact: "In the future it will be inexpedient to rely on nuclear weapons as a means of warfare, since their use will lead to self-destruction." But what conclusions are drawn? To possess a longer-term, integrated strategy with a variety of options and armed forces which would make it possible to resolve the broadest range of tasks—from participation in an insignificant conflict to... general nuclear war. Wouldn't they just! Furthermore, U.S. nuclear weapons must remain an element in the "deterrence forces" and be supplemented by modernized French and British nuclear forces.

At the same time the new strategy pays particular attention to developing conventional arms in every possible way, relying on the creation of highly accurate strike systems and improvements to control and intelligence means. The emphasis placed on this is probably the most

important feature of the concept proposed by the authors. This also applies to their demand for continual increases in military spending.

Thus, the former "call to arms" is being replaced—or, rather, modified—by a "call to arms upgrading." Commenting on this section of the commission's report, THE WASHINGTON POST wrote: "The United States must switch from nuclear weapons, which threaten general annihilation, to lay great stress on high-accuracy weapons which could be used in regional conflicts in the Third World and other regions without causing total war between the superpowers." Is it this that the authors term "discriminate deterrence"? What can we say, the U.S. politicians and military strategists leave other countries and peoples a fine choice. If they do not submit to diktat they will discover for themselves the meaning of "deterrence" based on state-of-the-art military technology.

But the authors of the report, to give them their due, are proposing not only military means of pressure and diktat. They have not forgotten the political varieties. Thus, they propose actively supporting "anticommunist insurgents," above all by means of secret or special operations, when the U.S. Government can pretend that it is quite uninvolved. To that end it is also planned to grant aid to allies in the sphere of "maintaining security" in various parts of the world, which should also allow the United States to avoid direct interference.

No, the commission's conclusions cannot be called anything but a model of old thinking. True, they have not yet become official U.S. doctrine. But they may. And this is fraught with extremely serious consequences.

U.S. political and military goals for the present day are defined in President R. Reagan's recent report "National Security Strategy." It recognizes that "nuclear weapons and intercontinental delivery systems have become the main threat to national survival." At the same time it stresses that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the Soviet initiatives that are being put forward "force Western governments to adopt defensive positions" and "confront Western policy with new and increasingly complex challenges." At the same time old postulates that the "number one threat" to the national security of the United States and its allies remains the Soviet Union, which allegedly carries out "military expansion" and "strives for dominance on the Eurasian landmass" are repeated. Washington's adherence to the policy of interference in regional conflicts and the affairs of other countries—above all, Nicaragua, Angola, and Afghanistan—on the pretext of the "defense of freedom and democracy" is also reaffirmed.

What can be said on this score? This seminal document for U.S. policy also combines recognition of the new realities with old approaches (even the president himself admits that the "foundations of U.S. strategy change

little from year to year"). Yet it seems obvious that the only viable and stable security formula is one which takes proper account of the security interests of all and of both sides.

The Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is an example of such an approach. Senate committee discussions on it start tomorrow. And it will probably be examined at a plenary session of the Senate in March.

One can see references in the press to the fact that the U.S. Senate has the prerogative to ratify international treaties, including the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This is not quite true. Under the U.S. Constitution the Senate examines the treaties signed by the executive and, in the event of their being approved, adopts a resolution of "advice and consent" to their ratification. But the actual right to ratification—that is, to sanction treaties, after which they come into force—belongs to the president.

So just what are the prospects for the discussion on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the Senate? A certain dichotomy must be noted here. Certain conservative senators, mirroring the views of the most reactionary U.S. circles, would like to prevent ratification of the treaty, or at least introduce into it amendments that would render it worthless. But, judging by everything, the majority in the Senate is inclined to support the treaty. Analyzing the breakdown of forces, White House Chief of Staff H. Baker termed the prospects for the treaty being approved by the Senate as "excellent." It only remains for us to hope that the senators will show a sense of responsibility during the discussion of such a historic act as a Soviet-U.S. treaty.

In the Soviet Union the right of ratification of international treaties belongs to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The prospects for its ratifying the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles should be neither oversimplified nor dramatized. In particular, many Soviet people, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers Colonel Ya. Korneyev and Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) S. Dvorak, are confused by the fact that under the treaty the USSR has to destroy more missiles and warheads than the United States. But, after all, both sides are to fully destroy all their existing intermediate-range and shorter-range weapons. And how many missiles and warheads are destroyed by the USSR or the United States is not so important. What is important is that there will be none left on either side. And this, we think, will be taken into consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A sense of responsibility to the future must ultimately prevail.

J. Helms' Objections to INF Treaty Derided
PM261401 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 88
Second Edition p 5

[Political Observer Yuriy Zhukov article: "Useless Means"—boldface as published]

[Text] Next week the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee will embark on the discussion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles which has been submitted for ratification. It is well-known that the signing of this treaty was unanimously acclaimed by the peoples and governments of all countries in the world, including the overwhelming majority of Americans. In these circumstances, the adversaries of the termination of the arms race, being unable to openly take a stand against the treaty's ratification, have invented a circuitous maneuver: to push through amendments which, in congressional parlance, would "kill" it.

Naturally, schemes like this alarm all sober-minded people, and Europeans in the first place. British Prime Minister M. Thatcher recently told J. Biden, member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who was visiting Europe, that "if the Senate were to really produce a 'killer amendment' to the treaty this would be a catastrophe for the alliance," in other words for the Atlantic alliance. In his turn, FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, who arrived in the United States the day before yesterday, met the U.S. Congress leadership and called on U.S. legislators to ratify the treaty and continue the nuclear disarmament process.

Nonetheless, a rather small but highly active group of senators perseveres in its efforts aimed at subverting the treaty. As recently as 20 January Senator J. Helms came out with a demand to introduce "amendments" to the treaty. Evidently striving to confuse his colleagues, he took the liberty of claiming that the treaty supposedly does not provide for the elimination of nuclear warheads for intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. "It is the nuclear warheads that kill you," he reasoned with aplomb, "not the missiles. Unless this problem is corrected, the Russians can merely re-bolt their enormous inventory of warheads onto the thousands of other missiles in their inventory, many of which can hit the United States."

What was that?! I take the liberty of reminding the delirious senator that if he were to read the Protocol on Procedures Governing the Elimination of Missiles, which was signed by U.S. President R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, he would find there the following stipulations:

"All (are you listening, Mr Helms—all) Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and nuclear warheads for them shall be subject to elimination (are you listening—**subject to elimination!**).

And further on:

"Front section, minus nuclear warhead devices, and instrumentation compartment, minus guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened."

As regards the radioactive nuclear "charge" of the warhead, both sides will be entitled to deal with it at their own discretion. Its physical destruction is impossible, and the Soviet side, advocating the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, will of course find applications for this "charge" in the national economy, and it would be very nice if the United States were to do the same.

As for the claim that the treaty supposedly allows warheads from intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles to be "re-bolted" onto other missiles, including ICBM's, such a fantastic claim only makes me feel embarrassed on this U.S. legislator's behalf. Any Pentagon officer, let alone the generals with whom Helms is mixing, would tell him that it is absurd.

What is he expecting when making such statements? Is it that hard to realize that such attempts to subvert the treaty using such useless means testify only to the total bankruptcy of those who resort to them?

Kampelman Testifies in Senate on Geneva Talks
LD262348 Moscow TASS in English 2322 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—Hearings on the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles are being held at the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations today. Speaking at the hearings, head of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva negotiations Max Kampelman touched upon the question of the West Europeans' attitude to the Soviet-American treaty.

He said that the West Europeans, who are most directly affected by the treaty, fully supported it. That was clear to him when he was touring European countries. All European countries, all big political parties, all political leaders, both members of governments of NATO member-countries, and non-government members, firmly support the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Public opinion polls show that the West Europeans in their overwhelming majority support the treaty. The treaty should be considered not as the final result but rather as the first step towards building a more secure and stable world, he said.

Speaking of prospects of the Geneva negotiations, Max Kampelman said that though he was not making predictions, but it is possible to elaborate an agreement on strategic armaments in the next few months. [sentence as

received] Both sides gave instructions to their delegations to work over the completion, if possible, of the elaboration of such a treaty and prepare it to be signed in the first half of 1988, he said.

British Stand on Nuclear Disarmament Viewed

LD262259 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 26 Jan 88

["European Reporter" program presented by Nikolay Gorshkov, with recorded remarks by Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; Georgiy Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Denzil Davies, spokesman on defense matters of the British Labor Party—Petrovskiy and Arbatov speak in Russian with superimposed English translation; recorded]

[Text] [Gorshkov] Hello! The topic of tonight's discussion has been prompted by no other than Mrs Thatcher herself. In the BBC's "Panorama" program on Monday night, the British Prime Minister criticized the remark by the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, that it would be a dangerous trend if NATO allies used a pause in the arms control negotiations to strengthen their nuclear potential. In her reaction, Mrs Thatcher said that Moscow had no right to dictate what Britain can or cannot do to update its defense forces in the wake of the Soviet-American treaty to scrap intermediate-range nuclear missiles. But did Moscow really mean to dictate anything to Britain? I put this question to Vladimir Petrovskiy, a deputy to the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze:

[Petrovskiy] Moscow isn't dictating to anyone. This is simply not in line with our policy of new thinking, new approaches to international relations. But surely Moscow is not denied the right to express its opinion, its apprehensions. What we believe is that the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty to Eliminate Medium-and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles gave a new impulse not only to nuclear disarmament but also to real progress in all other arms control areas. That's why we consider it unwise either from the viewpoint of European security or from the viewpoints of the individual needs of the European countries to make any pauses, any stops in this process. We believe that this impulse should be used to rid the whole of Europe, and indeed the rest of the world, of chemical weapons and to begin negotiating real cuts in conventional forces. Now, do our beliefs in any way contradict the interests of Europe or any of its countries, including Britain? Hasn't the British prime minister expressed her cabinet's readiness to support further progress in arms control?

[Gorshkov] By the way, this question was put by our London correspondent to Denzil Davies, the Labour spokesman on defense matters.

[Davies] Well, we in the Labour Party are very doubtful about Mrs Thatcher's intentions. The present government has always told us that it believes in multilateral nuclear disarmament, this is, getting rid of nuclear weapons by agreement. Now that's a perfectly sensible policy, but Mrs Thatcher keeps on saying that she doesn't believe in what she calls denuclearization. She doesn't want to give up nuclear weapons. So I suspect that Mrs Thatcher—perhaps not everybody in the Conservative Party—Mrs Thatcher believes in keeping nuclear weapons; I don't think she agrees with Mr Gorbachev—and with President Reagan, who has also said the nuclear weapons are immoral. I don't think she agrees with those two people. I think she wants to keep nuclear weapons even if they could be negotiated away through a multilateral agreement.

[Gorshkov] Prerequisites for such an agreement or at least some movement in that direction appear to be ripening in the world at large. In Stockholm the other day, an international conference organized by the leaders of Sweden, Argentina, Tanzania, India, Mexico and Greece, known as the Delhi Six, voiced the universal desire to make the so-called nuclear club member countries to do away with their dangerous privilege. Dr Georgiy Arbatov, the director of the Institute for American Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, attended the Stockholm conference and he was amazed by the criticism levelled at Mrs Thatcher's nuclear philosophy by virtually all the participants:

[Arbatov] Every speaker at Stockholm criticized Mrs Thatcher's philosophy, beginning with the leaders of those six countries and ending with representatives of various grassroots movements. All were unanimous in saying that such a position of the British Government could no longer be tolerated by the world public.

[Gorshkov] The British Labour Party appears to share the opinions voiced in Stockholm. Denzil Davies:

[Davies] The British Government has been trying to find some way to compensate, as they describe it, for the fact that cruise missiles will leave Europe, and Pershing-II and Pershing-1A. They haven't had full support within NATO for that policy. I think many NATO countries—Scandinavian countries and others—do not want to go down that particular road. So Mr Younger now, I think, is trying to find other ways. He calls it modernization, but he is trying to find other ways to try and compensate, and one idea that's been suggested and has been in the British press—there's nothing secret about it, one idea is to have a joint proposal, an understanding with the French Government to develop new cruise missiles which would be placed on aircraft.

Now, that is going to take a long time; I don't think it's going to happen overnight. But we in the Labour Party totally condemn that. We think it's a retrograde step, which means moving backwards. If we are going to have these agreements to eliminate nuclear weapons, then

what on earth is the point of one country or two countries then trying to find other weapons to fill a so-called gap? I mean, the Soviet Union, as you know, has given up three times as many of these longer-range intermediate weapons as the West has. Now, if we've got a gap, then presumably the Soviet Union has got three times of a gap. And they also can have compensatory measures. And so can the Germans, and so can everybody else. It makes a mockery of international treaties and international agreements.

[Gorshkov] Denzil Davies is echoed by Dr Arbatov, who bases his opinion on the many discussions about nuclear disarmament he had in Stockholm:

[Arbatov] Very logical, Mrs Thatcher's philosophy. And this has been pointed out by many speakers, none of whom was from the Soviet Union, as a classical excuse for a further proliferation of nuclear weapons. Following the same logic, any country can say it needs nuclear weapons to defend its interests, and will thereby violate the international regime of nonproliferation. We've only made the first step in real disarmament by signing the INF Treaty with Washington, but this first victory may turn into a pyrrhic victory if it is not followed by further steps along the road towards a nuclear-free world.

[Gorshkov] But maybe this idea of a nuclear-free world isn't quite popular with the British public and Mrs Thatcher simply reflects popular sentiment? A question to Denzil Davies:

[Davies] Well, we want to see the elimination of nuclear weapons as well. We want them all to go. We realize that by the end of this century, it's a goal, it's an ideal, and it's something to be worked for. Whether it can be done or not I don't know, but we've all got to work towards it. Now, we don't mind—let's sit down and have proper agreements. President Reagan, at the famous Reykjavik meeting with Mr Gorbachev, he is not too happy with nuclear weapons either. I know he's going to have his SDI and there are problems about that, but we find two world leaders, frankly, both of them at least deeply skeptical and Mr Gorbachev against the whole concept of having nuclear weapons. And we support that view and we want to see movement towards getting rid of them. We realize that movement will come by negotiation, sitting down, both sides, as they did with the INF Treaty, negotiating agreement after agreement. And we hope the next one will be a 50% reduction in strategic weapons and we hope it will be signed, at least in draft, in Moscow later on this year.

[Gorshkov] These hopes were explicitly expressed at the Stockholm conference of the Delhi Six, representing the popular sentiments of the five continents. Dr Arbatov recalls:

[Arbatov] the conference reflected the viability of the idea of a nunnuclear future. Of course, we still have a long way to go to a nuclear-free world. But what we

already have is a new concept, that is real alternative to the conventional logic of nuclear deterrence. What we now understand is that a nuclear-free world is not a Utopia but a practical necessity. It was a kind of moral message sent from Stockholm to the effect that the world can no longer afford to put its future at the mercy of a handful of nuclear club members.

[Gorshkov] Now that two members of that club, the Soviet Union and the United States, have set an example, what can Britain and the other nuclear club members do to live up to their responsibility? Denzil Davies:

[Davies] I think the most positive would be clear statements from the British Government that they are against nuclear weapons. I would like to hear Mrs Thatcher say what President Reagan has said, what Mr Gorbachev has said, that she also wants, eventually—it will take time—that she also wants a nuclear-free world; that she believes that nuclear weapons are immoral; that she believes that it's not right to have a defense policy which is based on the annihilation, in effect, of mankind. Now, if the British Government were to make those clear statements, I think—although they are only words—I think they would make a very major contribution. But as I said in my initial answer, the fear we have is that this government is not in fact in favor of getting rid of nuclear weapons, even through negotiations.

[Gorshkov] And what would be the alternatives to such policies put to the British public by any future Labor government? Denzil Davies:

[Davies] (?Two practical steps: First of all, to include the British Trident, which we are buying from the United States, to include that and say that they are prepared to include that in talks about strategic arms reduction. That's one positive proposal. A second positive proposal would be to agree to have talks about tactical, battlefield nuclear weapons, that is, the nuclear artillery, the nuclear shells, the nuclear aircraft which both sides have got—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Now we would like to see talks about those weapons taking place at the same time as the talks now taking place on conventional weapons. We understand that the German Government even, Chancellor Kohl, wants those talks. My fear is the British and the French especially are the stumbling blocks to those talks. So another positive contribution we could make is say: Yes, let's have those talks. Nobody's asking anybody to give up weapons unilaterally. All we're asking is to sit down, as was the case with the INF Treaty, and negotiate away these battlefield weapons, which if they were used would destroy the whole of Europe, East and West.

[Unidentified interviewer in London] The same can be said about the chemical weapons.

[Davies] Yes, well, there are talks going on about the chemical weapons, and I must be fair to the British Government—in the past they have played a very constructive role. Now as I understand it, they are not being

so constructive. I think perhaps there is pressure being put on the British Government not to press ahead with proposals. But certainly, that is another area where we can make a very important contribution.

Gerasimov, Others Brief Journalists 26 Jan

On U.S. SDI Draft

LD261759 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center today there was a briefing on current questions of international policy. Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke there. He said, inter alia:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] The U.S. delegation submitted at the Geneva talks a draft treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on certain measures making possible a move, on the basis of cooperation, toward the deployment [razvertyvaniye] of a future strategic defense against ballistic missiles. Our attitude to this draft is based on the fact that the maximum respect should be shown both to the spirit and the letter of the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration adopted in Washington in December. Now look at what was written in that declaration: The Geneva talks are to, I quote, draft an agreement committing the sides to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty in the course of the agreed term. But even a first glance at the U.S. draft shows that it envisages in practice the right to carry out any activity regarding systems banned under the ABM Treaty. In particular, the ABM Treaty clearly forbids the creation of components of antimissile defense based in space. The U.S. draft is compiled in such a way that the formally declared commitment not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty during the agreed term are brought to nothing. So even a first reading of the U.S. draft gives us the impression that it does not fit into the framework of the mutual understanding reached in Washington in December. [end recording]

On Helms, Missile Accord

LD261547 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—"Senator Jesse Helms all his life has opposed any whatsoever talks or agreements with the Soviet Union. But finding arguments to support his views was always his weak point", a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today was told by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"When speaking at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Monday Jesse Helms at first groundlessly accused the USSR of providing false information about its missiles, launchers and bases and then declared that the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles are not to be eliminated at all, that only the delivery vehicles would be destroyed and not the warheads which the USSR allegedly was going to put on other missiles and aim at America", Gerasimov said.

"This is an outright attempt by Senator Helms to delude his colleagues in the Senate", Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "The protocol on the procedure of eliminating the missiles clearly says that the Soviet and American sides must destroy all the front sections of deployed intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Provisions are also made for the methods of elimination: The front section of a missile shall be crushed while the nuclear warhead shall be handed over for utilisation".

"To judge the merits of the Soviet-American treaty one should at least read it first", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

On Shevardnadze in FRG, Spain

LD261405 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—"The favourable climate, in which the visits of Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, to Bonn and Madrid were made, show that in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Spain there are a strong belief in substantial changes as a result of the accords reached between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan to eliminate the INF missiles, and hope for further steps to eliminate nuclear arms and reduce conventional ones," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today.

"The FRG and Spain expressed readiness to promote a success of nuclear disarmament, and practically agreed to the need to eliminate chemical weapons. There was also a community of approach to cutbacks in conventional arms," Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

"Much time was also devoted to the search for ways to give greater scope to peaceful cooperation in the new conditions," the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out. "Trade is one of major instruments of such cooperation. Both in the FRG and in Spain, particularly among their business communities, there is growing awareness that the development of our trade contacts is hindered by various kinds of restrictions imposed through Cocom or in connection with Common-Market regulations [as received]."

"The visits confirmed that humanitarian issues gradually get out of the sphere of confrontation and approach constructive cooperation. The meetings and talks showed that the Soviet Union in the eyes of the West Europeans increasingly becomes a country with which hopes for lasting and long-term cooperation are associated," Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized.

On West German-French Accord

LD261956 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, January 26 (TANJUG)—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today doubted good intentions of the French-West German agreement on military cooperation, recently signed by President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl.

Speaking at a news conference Gerasimov expressed doubt regarding the agreement's orientation. Observing the fact that France has so far reiterated it is not a NATO member, Gerasimov wonders what is the meaning of France's now forming a joint military unit with a NATO member country.

Saudi Official To Visit

LD261358 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—"A visit to the Soviet Union by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal is planned in the nearest future", a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was told today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "The minister will be a guest of the Soviet Government".

"It is believed that he will have meetings with Andrey Gromyko and Eduard Shevardnadze", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "The exact date of the visit is being thrashed out. The visit is being undertaken on the initiative of the Saudi side".

Denies Gorbachev-Botha Note

LD261446 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—A spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has rejected allegations that appeared in the mass media of the Republic of South Africa and in the West that Bavarian Minister-President Franz-Josef Strauss brought a message from Mikhail Gorbachev to President Pieter Botha of the Republic of South Africa.

"The Soviet leadership did not convey any messages to Pieter Botha or other leaders of South Africa either through Franz-Josef Strauss or through anyone whatsoever," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said today.

"The Soviet Union, true to its principled line with regard to apartheid which it views as a disgraceful anachronism of our century, demands the elimination of the system. Like before, we strongly condemn Pretoria's aggressive foreign-policy course with regard to neighbouring independent states, and demand that South Africa's troops be withdrawn from the territory of Angola and that independence be granted to Namibia."

Petrovskiy On Israeli Ties

LD261444 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—"The uprising in occupied Arab territories is a direct result of the arbitrariness and violence perpetrated by the Israeli occupation authorities and confirms that the Middle East conflict in its entire complex should be solved at the negotiating table", a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today was told by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Replying to a question he said: "The uprising convinced us once again of the need of urgent actions to convene the conference and that the conditions for it are ripe".

"We proceed from the premise that relations with Israel should be normalised", Vladimir Petrovskiy said further. "But changes in this field are possible only within the channel of a Middle East settlement. Exactly the commencement of the process of a Middle East settlement will remove the obstacles that brought about the rupture in Soviet-Israeli relations".

The deputy foreign minister said further that several Israeli officials were to come to Moscow with the purpose of studying the work of the department of the Dutch Embassy in the USSR that looks after Israel's interests. "Agreement on such a visit has been reached in principle", Vladimir Petrovskiy said.

On Middle East Conference

LD261338 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—"The question of the need for undelayed actions to banish the explosive situation in the Middle East by political means and collective efforts is raised as a matter of urgency today", Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, said at a briefing here today.

The proposal for drawing the Security Council in the moves to set in motion the mechanism of an international conference on the Middle East contained in the letter of Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign minister of the USSR, to U.N. secretary-general of January 20 was prompted exactly by this. "We proceed from the assumption that the Security Council members should conduct intensive consultations whose results could be considered at its special session involving foreign ministers".

"The contacts which we have already had with a wide range of states, including those involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, show the international community's undisputable interest in a fundamental turn for the better in the Middle East, convening to this end an international peace conference as is recommended by the U.N. General Assembly".

"Considering that an auspicious on the whole situation is being formed in the Security Council, we intend to intensify consultations and set out looking for practical ways to defuse the problems which hamper the convocation of the international conference", Vladimir Petrovskiy noted. "Certainly, we have our own considerations on this score, but we are prepared also to discuss the proposals by other members of the Security Council. We hope that the consultations in the council will lend dynamism to the process of the Middle East settlement and will make it possible to hold a meeting of the Security Council at the foreign minister level".

"The duty of states stemming from the decisions of the 42nd General Assembly session is to assure the earliest convocation of an authoritative international conference for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East", the deputy foreign minister of the USSR said.

Arbatov on Group of Six

LD261602 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Soviet Academician Georgiy Arbatov has welcomed the results of the summit meeting of the five continents' peace initiative, which just ended in Stockholm. Arbatov, who is the director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said at a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre today that "the Stockholm meeting was marked by definite signs of optimism, which was connected with the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty in December".

The academician pointed out that the Stockholm summit had considered some specific issues in connection with subsequent steps toward nuclear disarmament, criticized the concept of an "antinuclear impenetrable shield", and emphasized the need of observing the anti-ballistic missile defence treaty and preventing an arms race in outer space.

Arbatov supported what he described as a promising idea, voiced at the Stockholm meeting, of setting up an integrated multinational verification system within the U.N. framework that would supervise the observance of all existing disarmament agreements.

"Behind this idea one can see something bigger—the striving of all nations standing for a nuclear-free world to have at their disposal a mechanism of obtaining information on what is going on in the military field in the world," he said. "The idea will be submitted for consideration of the forthcoming special disarmament session of the U.N."

22 Jan News Conference on Nordic Security Policy PM260911 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Lasting Peace for Northern Europe"]

[Text] The situation in northern Europe is very important for general security, particularly now that favorable trends are arising in the international situation following the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington and the political climate on our planet promises to change for the better. N.N. Uspenskiy, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Second European Department, declared this. He was speaking at the press conference "Ways To Ensure Security and Stability in the North of Europe" at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 22 January.

There is one way to resolve the problem of mankind's survival, he continued, and this applies equally to the North Atlantic and the Arctic: Military and political confrontation must be countered by a peaceful alternative. The Soviet Union proposed taking precisely this path in the North when M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, advanced a multifaceted action program in his Murmansk speech.

The Murmansk initiatives are increasingly deeply entering the consciousness of politicians and the public and have become the subject of broad debate and diplomatic work. This was graphically manifested during the official visit of N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Sweden and Norway, where the USSR's new proposals have become the subject of discussion. Having carefully analyzed the reaction in north European and other countries to the Murmansk initiatives, the Soviet leadership has seriously rethought them and seen what more could be done to begin translating the Murmansk proposals into specific deeds.

The north of Europe occupies a very important place in the Soviet concept of security, Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, declared. We are accustomed to thinking that the risk of war can arise on dry land, but it cannot be ruled out that it will arise at sea. The United States and NATO have great superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries in terms of naval forces.

During his visit to Sweden and Norway N.I. Ryzhkov concretized our positions on a number of the Murmansk initiatives, N.F. Chervov emphasized. Specifically the Soviet Union proposes beginning consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing military activity and limiting naval and air force activities in the Baltic, the North Sea, the Norwegian Sea, and the Greenland Sea and on extending confidence-building measures to them, incorporating the Barents Sea in the zone of confidence-building measures.

The Soviet Union's position in support of a nuclear-free north is clear. We confirm our readiness to discuss with the interested states all problems connected with the creation of a nuclear-free zone, including possible measures with regard to Soviet territory, and, in particular, to remove submarines with nuclear ballistic missiles from the Baltic Fleet.

V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, spoke at the press conference about the considerable potential for developing the USSR's trade and economic ties with Sweden and Norway.

Replying to a question from correspondents about joint activity in Arctic research, V.L. Malkevich said that the Soviet Union has proposed holding a conference of near-Arctic states in 1988 on the coordination of scientific research in that region.

A correspondent for the SOVETSKIY VOIN magazine inquired whether the subject of concealed submarines in Swedish territorial waters had been discussed in Stockholm.

Answer: It was discussed. The Soviet Union respects the neutrality and territorial integrity of its neighbor—Sweden—N.F. Chervov said. N.I. Ryzhkov declared in an interview that there are no Soviet submarines there. Since this subject has been cropping up in the press until recently, it evidently pays some people to keep it afloat in order to cast aspersions on Soviet policy, Soviet-Swedish relations, and the Soviet Union's Armed Forces.

Is there any point in continuing the struggle for a nuclear-free zone on part of the continent's territory when there is the prospect of ridding all of Europe of nuclear weapons?—a question from a correspondent for the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

Such opinions really do exist, N.N. Uspenskiy said, both in Scandinavian countries and across the ocean. Our position is the direct opposite. The signing of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles makes the question of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe still more topical and soluble than before. During many recent years, the Soviet Union has repeatedly said that it is ready to act as a guarantor of such a zone. A very favorable situation has now taken shape around this question. Given the political will, it can be resolved, and the preconditions for this are quite ripe.

Replies were given to other journalists' questions.

Speech of India's Gandhi in Stockholm Cited
PM251302 Moscow PRAVDA In Russian 25 Jan 88
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Changing the Way of Thinking: R. Gandhi's Speech"]

[Text] Stockholm, 24 Jan—Millions of people all over the world, including people living in states that possess nuclear weapons and belong to military blocs, have

become aware of the incompatibility of nuclear confrontation and lasting peace, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stated. Speaking at the conference of heads of state and government of the countries taking part in the "Initiative of the Six for Peace and Disarmament," which unites Argentina, Greece, India, Tanzania, Mexico, and Sweden, the Indian head of government stressed: We sincerely congratulate M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan, who showed farsightedness and recognized the need to eliminate and destroy nuclear weapon systems. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a historic beginning, undoubtedly historic, but equally undoubtedly, only a beginning.

The prime minister came out resolutely in favor of the irrevocable, consistent, and complete elimination of nuclear arms. This process could incorporate the phased lowering of the levels of nuclear arms. But the aim should still be the elimination of all nuclear arsenals as a step toward general and complete disarmament, he noted. It is necessary to put an end to the militarization of international relations. The international order should be based on peaceful coexistence. We should create a world free from nuclear weapons. Ultimately, we should create a world free from any weapons.

It is alarming that certain circles stubbornly claim that disarmament is not only a utopian idea but a dangerous one. We must change the way of thinking among leadership circles that is based on the philosophy of nuclear deterrence. They claim that nuclear weapons are the guarantee of peace. This is not so. If nuclear weapons exist, then one day they will be used, as happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On that last day, it will not matter very much why they were used, intentionally or accidentally. All hopes of survival will be buried beneath the nuclear wreckage.

Therefore, while congratulating the United States and the Soviet Union, we seek guarantees that the treaty they signed in Washington will mark the start of a nuclear disarmament process within a limited time scale.

The Indian head of government pointed out that the nuclear warheads being eliminated are only a small proportion of the colossal arsenals of means of mass destruction. Only the United States and the Soviet Union have taken this small step. The other nuclear powers must also become involved in this process. The process of general nuclear disarmament should be promoted by those countries capable of crossing the threshold of the renunciation of nuclear weapons. There should be no help, either covert or open, for those who try to acquire nuclear weapons.

Touching on Washington's "Star Wars" program, R. Gandhi stressed that it is necessary to renounce the idea of creating an impenetrable shield in space, because it is a chimera. There is no such thing as a "totally reliable

defense" that can be created with the help of technology. The quest for answers in the sphere of technology hampers the truly important quest for ways of achieving lasting peace. The problems of war and peace cannot be resolved by technical means. The defense of peace is a function of human intelligence. Mankind's fate cannot be entrusted to a machine.

All qualitative improvements in nuclear weapons must be stopped. The urgent need, therefore, arises for the immediate imposition of a moratorium on all nuclear tests, so as to prepare the ground for the conclusion of a treaty on a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests.

The prime minister called for an end to the arms race in the sphere of new technologies. We must protect mankind both against known dangers that threaten him with destruction and against threats as yet unknown, he said.

It is also necessary to carry out radical reductions in conventional arms. This process of disarmament in the sphere of conventional arms should begin where the main bulk of these weapons are concentrated and spread to other parts of the world. The ultimate aim should be general and complete disarmament.

We seek to create an effective system of international security, a system that rejects obsolete dogmas, dangerous illusions, and destructive strategic doctrines. Although the prospect of a nuclear-free world may seem remote, it exists nonetheless. We should begin thinking now about how we would like to see the international order after the abolition of nuclear weapons.

In this connection, the prime minister came out in favor of the principles of nonviolence and tolerance, compassion, and an understanding that there is one world for all mankind. Pressure must give way to true democracy in relations between states. Instead of concentrating resources in the military sphere, it is necessary to use resources for the purposes of universal development. The pursuit of domination must give way to the desire for coexistence and cooperation, R. Gandhi stressed.

West European Defense, Palestine Issue Reviewed
PM261101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[Tomas Kolesnichenko "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] "Distance lends perspective," as the poet said. And it is true.

The farther time removes us from last December's events in Washington, the clearer their historic significance appears. Although the first agreement on nuclear disarmament is by itself an event of significance to all mankind, it is now continuity, the continuation of the

actual process of disarmament and, above all, of course, the removal of the threat of nuclear catastrophe from our planet, that comes to the fore.

What About Europe, Then? [subhead]

Since the Washington summit meeting, people have been asking this question with increasing insistence not only on our continent but throughout the world. That is only logical. Yet it is European security that the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles primarily strengthens. Although the historic treaty was signed by the leaders of the USSR and the United States, it also bears the stamp of approval of virtually all European states.

It is, therefore, up to the Europeans above all to continue and deepen the tangible breakthrough achieved in questions of nuclear disarmament and to throw all their intellectual and political forces into the "breach," while at the same time concentrating on specific measures to reduce armed forces and conventional arms.

However, no matter how paradoxical it may seem, this simple truth is not at all obvious to everyone. Moreover, there are highly influential forces today bent on keeping as many people as possible from seeing this truth. Since the Soviet-American summit meeting the opponents of disarmament and detente have retreated and taken up what is virtually a "line of defense," claiming that there is no need for Europe to disarm further and, moreover, that "compensation" and some "arms-upgrading" are required by NATO, since American nuclear commitments have now been weakened and the "umbrella" is no longer what it was and will not withstand a Warsaw Pact "storm."

To be fair, I should note that not everyone thinks that way even in NATO. This is what FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher said the other day during a Radio Luxembourg interview: "Europe (and I also have in mind here America's European allies) should be aware of the opportunities for cooperation between West and East, of the opportunities for disarmament, and of the opportunities for collaboration [kooperatsiya] in all spheres. There must not be, for example, people who see Europe's independence as consisting solely in a show of furrowed-brow concern when the two great powers are negotiating between themselves."

The talks which E.A. Shevardnadze held in the FRG and Spain this week confirmed that European dialogue is gathering momentum. It embraces a broad range of problems, but the chief one is undoubtedly that of security. Frank discussion helps develop a common language in disarmament matters, to find mutually acceptable solutions, and to outline prospects.

The fact that the Soviet side reaffirmed in Bonn its readiness to hold talks on cutting conventional arms and completely eliminating tactical nuclear systems is very

important. The question is not a straightforward one. The imbalances and asymmetries in the armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO sometimes create conundrums, but the main thing is finding the "point-of-departure" principle, the balance at the lowest possible level of reasonable sufficiency such that mutual security interests may be taken into account. No one, for example, thinks that tanks are say, defensive weapons, but the large NATO advantage in antitank means is also bound to disquiet the other side. Of course, naval armaments deserve very serious discussion.

We are ready for talks on the problem of conventional armaments. The problem does not lie with the Soviet Union but in whether our Western partners are ready for this constructive dialogue. Some people in Europe talk a lot about the need to remove the imbalance in conventional arms but are in no hurry to take practical steps in this direction. Meanwhile, the present Vienna meeting of participants in the all-European conference could, as the Soviet Union proposes, adopt right now, without delay, a mandate on the basis of which talks could be begun on conventional arms, including so-called dual-purpose systems, on the understanding that questions connected with the strictly nuclear components of such systems would be discussed separately.

During the Soviet-Spanish talks in Madrid, both sides said that it was high time the Vienna talks reached agreement on the subject of future talks on reducing troops and conventional armaments in Europe.

All-European dialogue on disarmament must be built on mutual trust and openness. It should be said that in the FRG, this kind of approach has recently even altered the country's political landscape somewhat. The picture is quite different in Bavaria, with the Christian Social Union (CSU) and its chairman, Franz-Josef Strauss, who has decided, according to STERN magazine, that "Europeans should stand more firmly on their own feet in relations with the USSR." The following detail is typical: Members of the CSU land group in the Bundestag met in the town of Kreuth to discuss the results of Strauss' visit to Moscow. Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrived there from Washington, having obtained \$25,000 plus a "per diem subsistence allowance." This political weathercock has recently been increasingly playing the role of the "contrary child": Everything that is done without him is bad, particularly if it concerns detente, the normalization of relations with the USSR, or nuclear disarmament. This time Kissinger intended to support the hard-liners in the Bavarian party. The main theme was "Do not trust the Russians!" "Kissinger's arguments," STERN notes, "were flimsy. When the party leader expounded his view of the state of affairs in Moscow, he received 100% approval of the visit."

But, unfortunately, not all West European leaders live up to the current requirements in their policy. Voices emanating from London and Paris run quite contrary to the

all-European trends and realities. There they are insisting on retaining nuclear missiles. Yet British missiles are not targeted across the Atlantic, nor are French missiles targeted against New Caledonia. Now, at a time when the practical question of a drastic reduction in the central strategic systems of the Soviet Union and America is being raised, the question of British and French nuclear weapons acquires specific urgency and causes justified concern on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies, particularly as Paris has recently become obsessed with the ideas of a new kind of West European defensive system and the creation of a joint military brigade with the FRG and joint research work with the British in the sphere of nuclear missiles. London, rejecting a "triple-zero option"—the complete elimination of tactical nuclear systems—"is not lagging behind" either, so far as maintaining nuclear weapons is concerned. How quickly Mrs Thatcher has forgotten her own words describing the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles as an unprecedented and most precious "Christmas present" to mankind. Or does the British prime minister think that nuclear disarmament is solely the prerogative of Moscow and Washington, while London and Paris will simply sit on their own nuclear missiles like brood hens?

And that at a time when the very dynamics of disarmament make it possible to turn 1988 into "European year" by substantially "clearing" our continent of the various weapons with which it is crammed. There is a ready-made "production base" for that purpose, the Vienna meeting. But above all there is an "infrastructure"—Helsinki, Stockholm, the socialist countries' Budapest initiative, the "Jaruzelski Plan," and the Palme Commission's idea—the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, a total ban on chemical weapons, and so forth. In Madrid last week, the Soviet side put forward constructive proposals on that score, and the hope was expressed that the Vienna meeting will end with accords on all three Helsinki "baskets" to its credit. For the time being, these and other proposals remain on the negotiating table awaiting solution. They must be resolved on the basis of the principles of justice. We are ready for such talks. It is now up to our partners.

It is very important that military detente in Europe be combined with the development of trading, economic, cultural, and other ties between states with different social systems. To this end, the time has come to completely remove the unjustified barriers and the disgraceful "Cocom lists," which ban the export of the latest technology to the USSR. Whereas at one time those lists included goods such as copper wire, now they feature complex computers. But the essence of the discriminatory policy remains the same. It is not so much we who will suffer from this as the other European countries. We in the Soviet Union can live without Western computers, but everything in our sublunary world is interconnected. The harm done to others rebounds against the one who took that path, subsequently hindering the building of a common European home.

Conference Needed [subhead]

They were right, those commentators who tirelessly reiterated that the situation in the Near East will remain explosive until the Palestinian question is resolved. Recently the Palestinians' mass actions have assumed the scale of a popular uprising. The propaganda "myths" that the population of the occupied territories has "gradually accepted" the subordinate position of second-class citizens within the framework of "Greater Israel" has been completely exploded. There have even been "theoreticians" (particularly in the United States) who have claimed that in the last resort, the Palestinians may be given some autonomy without sovereignty and that they will be content with that. As THE NEW YORK TIMES justly wrote the other day, the U.S. policy of unconditional support for Tel Aviv is actually built on that premise.

As for Tel Aviv itself, it is continuing to repeat one and the same thing: "Israel is misunderstood." Beilin, political director of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, has gone to Washington to "clarify" the situation. He has been meeting with journalists from dawn to dusk trying to "prove" that the Palestinians are to blame for everything, whereas the Israeli soldiers "are responding with self-defense actions."

You do not have to look far for facts to refute these truly nonsensical claims. Just yesterday UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar sent the UN Security Council a report on the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. It clearly states that the Palestinian population's plight is "tragic." And the "root cause" of this is Israel's continued occupation of the territory captured during the 1967 war."

In the report the UN Secretary General stressed that there must be a political settlement of the Near East problem. Furthermore, now that the situation there has deteriorated sharply, that settlement must be reached without delay. Otherwise, it will be impossible to ensure either the protection of the Palestinian people on the occupied territories or the security of Israel (which is also highly important).

Urgent measures are indeed needed. It must be remembered that the international community, above all the UN Security Council, formulated specific steps for such a political settlement long ago, on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338. They are, above all, the consideration of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including self-determination to the extent of creating their own state, the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied territories, and a guarantee of security for all peoples living in this region.

It is characteristic that it was the UN Secretary General who advocated an international conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. In the weeks ahead, Perez de Cuellar intends to hold a detailed

discussion with UN Security Council members on possible ways to resolve the present impasse into which Israel has driven the settlement process.

As is well known, the Soviet Union has proposed that, in view of the present tension in the Near East, the UN Security Council should begin practical implementation of the tasks of preparing the mechanism for an international conference on the Near East and of setting it in motion. Such a conference could mark the end of the protracted conflict, find a rational balance, and ensure a lasting peace and security in this region. We have also proposed in specific terms that the Security Council members should immediately begin consultations to examine related questions.

The Soviet proposal offers a possibility to all countries interested in resolving the Near East conflict to participate actively in this necessary and, indeed, noble cause. Such opportunities have been presented to the United States, too, of course. But how did Washington react to the USSR Foreign Minister's letter? The traditional reply, unfortunately. "This letter merely repeats an old Soviet proposal. We see little new in it," a State Department official spokesman stated yesterday. He again advocated direct talks between the Arabs and Israel.

Meanwhile, the idea of convening an international conference on the Near East is extending to more and more countries. For example, it has been supported by, among others, the British Foreign Secretary, who has stated that "the best step toward a political solution of the crisis situation in the Near East would be to convene an international conference on this question." It seems that the United States is becoming isolated.

As for Washington's position, all the talk about its "understanding" and sympathy for the Palestinians remains just talk, whereas the real aid will be given to right-wingers in the Likud bloc, who are ready to make use of the situation in the forthcoming elections in Israel and win votes by taking a "tough line."

It is the collective duty of all states and, in particular, the permanent members of the UN Security Council to do everything in their power to convene an international conference on the Near East as the only realistic and sure means of achieving a peaceful settlement.

West Hindering UN Talks on Mercenaries

*LD251258 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0730 GMT 25 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] A session of a UN special committee is opening today to continue working out an international convention for combating the recruitment, use, financing, and training of mercenaries. Here's journalist Lidiya Podolnaya:

[Podolnaya] [passage omitted] Nowadays, the hiring of mercenaries has turned into a tool of international terrorism. Hired formations are used for destabilizing or overthrowing legitimate governments that are not to the West's liking, for exacerbating regional conflicts, and for suppressing national-liberation movements. One can find the bloody traces of dogs of war in Congo, Laos, Chad, Guinea, Angola Mozambique, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and a number of other developing states.

The issue of mercenaries appeared on the United Nations agenda for the first time in 1979, and the following year a special committee was set up to work out a draft convention to provide a legislative ban on the recruitment, use, financing, and training of mercenaries. However, the work is progressing with great difficulty, not so much because of objective complications in compiling the documents, as because of obstacles created artificially by Western countries, which refuse to recognize international legal responsibility for the training of mercenaries.

Incidentally, in the United States, Western Europe, and Latin America, soldiers of fortune are recruited either under cover of some front which means nothing to those not in the know, or else quite blatantly. There's even a specialized magazine published for them in the United States—*SOLDIER OF FORTUNE*. Although it is illegal for U.S. citizens to serve under a foreign flag or take part in military operations to overthrow a government, the authorities do nothing to prevent publication of the magazine. This is because there are often fairly close links between terrorists, mercenaries, and the authorities. The U.S. press, for example, acknowledges that the CIA is behind many plans and operations of the wild geese.

Here's the latest example: As the investigation into the Iran-contra affair has shown, the U.S. Administration in fact sanctioned and supported mercenaries. All the time the West repeats that soldiers of fortune act exclusively at their own risk. It would be naive to think that their own risk has forced the dogs of war to take part in more than 200 armed conflicts in the planet's hot-spots since World War II.

Most UN members recognize the need to put a stop to such practices, and this provides grounds for hope that it will at last be possible not only to work out international legal norms for combating the hiring of mercenaries, but also to present a prepared draft for examination by a future Assembly session. This is the task faced by the sitting of the UN special committee that opens today.

UN Information Ministry Director Interviewed
LD231649 Moscow TASS in English 0003 GMT
23 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Soviet people are well-informed of the activity of the United Nations Organization and sincerely support its efforts aimed at the improvement of the world situation, said Gely Dneprovskiy, director of the U.N. Information Centre in Moscow.

In connection with a regional conference of directors of the U.N. information centres in European countries and countries of North America, that opens here on Tuesday, he gave an interview to TASS correspondent Sergey Zanin about the work of the Soviet centre and the coming forum.

Our service is of much importance for the efficiency of the United Nations work, said the director of the Moscow Information Centre. The world organization will be able to cope better with the tasks for whose solution it was created if peoples are fully informed about its goals and activity. We circulate vast volume of information about the United Nations. Documents, booklets, books, films are supplied free of charge to enterprises, research institutions, educational establishments, state institutions, public and other organizations. We survey the opinion of Soviet people on all topical problems of the present and inform the United Nations Secretariat of their opinion. We attach increasing importance to this aspect of our work. There is information that reports from the USSR on the processes of perestroika, widening of glasnost and democracy evoke great interest in the United Nations circles. With the use of sociological research we try to establish what concerns Soviet people, how they appraise the United Nations work and to make the organization's leadership aware of these opinions. The role of the public in the solution of many world problems, above all in the struggle for peace, increased immeasurably of late.

The director of the Moscow Information Centre expressed the confidence that the coming regional conference in Moscow will offer an opportunity to discuss and analyse questions of overall strategy and tactic of the United Nations information activity for the coming decade and find the ways for enhancing the efficiency of the work of the information centres.

Official Comments on Antiterrorist Draft
LD231209 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT
23 Jan 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Over 150 terroristic acts at international airports of the whole world were committed in a period from 1973 to 1987, according to the data of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). In February, ICAO is to hold a conference of U.N. member-countries to adopt a document on measures against acts of violence at international airports. Boris Ryzhenkov, executive secretary of the USSR ICAO Commission, comments at the request of a TASS correspondent, on its draft prepared by the ICAO Legal Committee.

"We believe that it would be easier to combat terrorism in air transport, if all the states undertake the obligation to take anti-crime steps. Unfortunately, in the draft there are no provisions on that question. And there are precedents

in international contractual practice. Concrete preventive measures in the carriage of nuclear material in air space and at airports are, for instance, envisaged in the convention on the physical protection of nuclear material.

The document will be more efficient if in the course of the conference it becomes possible to clearly record concrete provisions on the rights of the states to prosecute, extradite and punish criminals.

"The USSR advocates consolidation of cooperation in that area both in the framework of international organizations,

regionally or on a bilateral level", said the executive secretary of the ICAO commission. "It is necessary to enhance the efficiency of the functioning agreements, to work for strict compliance with the obligations by the parties to the agreements. Manifestation of leniency to air pirates is inadmissible. We shall recall here the Brazinskis, father and son, who committed a grave crime in October 1970—they hijacked a plane and killed an air hostess. They were taken under protection by U.S. justice bodies. Their punishment in line with the gravity of their crime would accord with the U.N. and ICAO's decisions on stepping up the struggle against acts of violence in air transport.

United States & Canada

U.S. Conducts Cruise Missile Test Over Canada

LD270910 Moscow TASS in English 0839
GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Ottawa January 27 TASS—The United States conducted Tuesday the second test of an air-based cruise missile over Canadian territory. The same as the previous time, the missile with a dummy warhead was launched off a U.S. B-52 bomber over the Beaufort Sea, flew over the north-western areas of Canada and reached a testing ground near the Gold Lake Air Force Base of Canada.

The U.S. is not only testing the functioning of a guidance system of the missiles in winter conditions. Another purpose of the current series of tests is to check the American-Canadian air detection system. The U.S. is to conduct another four test launches in Canada before march 31.

Reaction to Reagan State of Union Address

Bogachev Analysis

LD261744 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS Observer on Military Affairs, Vladimir Bogachev, writes:

In his "State of the Union" address, U.S. President Ronald Reagan presented the problem of SDI to the Americans in a very distinctive and unexpectedly brief way. No, the President has not abandoned his beloved brain child the "Star Wars" program. As before, he denied the fact that the reduction of strategic offensive armaments and the militarization of space are steps in opposite directions and therefore things that are incompatible and mutually exclusive at arms control talks.

However, this time there was none of the usual rhetoric in the President's address claiming that SDI would make nuclear weapons "powerless and obsolete" and "ensure the security" of the whole of the U.S. population in the event of nuclear war. Instead of this, Reagan tried to persuade Americans that SDI is not an expensive program, and the funding requested for it is only 2% of the military budget. He preferred to call his "Star Wars" program "an insurance policy" in the event of a nuclear accident in the heavens, the launching of a nuclear missile by accident, or the foolhardiness of a madman. [Moscow TASS in English at 1748 GMT on 26 January transmits the identical item, with the following addition at the end of this paragraph: "...a nuclear accident—a Chernobyl of the sky—or an accidental launch or some madman who might come along."]

We shall leave to the President's conscience his assurances about the small cost of the "Star Wars" program. According to preliminary estimates the expenditure on

its deployment will run into thirteen figures. Just as unconvincing were Reagan's references to the possibility, with the help of SDI, of reducing the risk of an accidental nuclear war as the result of an act of terrorism, etc. The "Star Wars" program in the form in which it was expounded by the same Reagan in March 1983 pursued quite different goals.

The statements by the U.S. President on SDI in his latest address require reflection. Maybe he has finally realized that he will not succeed in drawing the Soviet Union into a senseless and expensive space arms race? Possibly the President does not want to mislead the American people anymore about the possibility of creating a reliable antimissile shield?

One would like to hope that the interpretation of the problem of "Star Wars" in the "State of the Union" address is testimony if not of complete enlightenment then of the beginning of the enlightenment of the President regarding the proclaimed aims and real possibilities of this program.

Biryukov Comments

LD262038 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—TASS Political News Analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

President of the United States Ronald Reagan confirmed again the adherence of his administration to "neoglobalism" doctrine, to the course at interference in the affairs of other countries. In his speech in the Congress he proclaimed resolve to continue "sustaining the freedom fighters", which is how he describes the counterrevolutionary forces that on U.S. funds and with the use of U.S. armaments are waging armed struggle against people's power in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and some other countries. "Their cause is our cause", the President said.

It follows from Ronald Reagan's speech that the U.S. Administration shortly intends to get from the congress further appropriations of many millions of dollars to finance military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. The President, apparently, decided to ignore the growing striving of the world community to be resolving the existing conflicts by political means. His pronouncements can only be viewed as the refusal to recognise the right of peoples to independently choose their road, to decide their problems as they see fit, and, finally, as his unwillingness to respect human rights, specifically, the most fundamental right—the right to security, to life.

This has been confirmed by the sending by the United States CIA of another plane with armaments for contras to Nicaragua. It was shot down by fighters of the Sandinist People's Army the other day. That provocation was another attempt to frustrate the implementation of the arrangements reached by the leaders of the countries of Central America about establishing durable peace in

the region. It is known that more than 50,000 citizens of Nicaragua have become victims of the undeclared war unleashed against Nicaragua by the United States. A huge damage was inflicted on Nicaragua by a severe blockade, the criminal tactic of mining its ports, subversive operations of Somozist gangs which destroy economic facilities and kill peaceful people. And it is these terrorists that the President of the United States wishes to protect when he declares out loud that their piratic deeds are "our cause", that is the cause of the U.S. Administration.

It is for the tenth year that the forces of internal and external reaction led by the USA have been waging a war against the people of Afghanistan. Describing that war, which is literally "American war", prominent expert of the Carnegie Endowment, Selig Harrison, declared that the United States is implementing a programme worth nearly one billion dollars a year, that this is the United States biggest secret operation since the times of the Vietnam war. The Afghan problem would have long been resolved if it were not for the United States interference which is widening with every year, its backing for counterevolutionary bands.

There is a real chance now to conclude the Geneva talks next month, to achieve at the talks arrangements on all the aspects of the political settlement around Afghanistan. But they in Washington try in every way to avoid the arrangements that have earlier been reached on the matter. They continue talking about the need to support the forces of resistance (that is, counterrevolutionaries) in reaching their aims.

The U.S. Administration's approach to the settlement of regional conflicts lacks elementary realism and new thinking, even though the experience of the previous years should have suggested to Washington that the banking on force, on interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples cannot lead to anything good, while it can complicate the international situation and create a threat to the security of peoples of the whole world. The U.S. Administration, just as the governments of other countries can, naturally, have its own political sympathies and antipathies, but to transfer one's reactions to situations in various regions and countries on international law as a whole is not a sign of reasonable politics.

Kozyakov on Address

LD270336 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] On Monday President Reagan made his annual State of the Union address to the Congress. Our observer, Vladislav Kozyakov, comments:

That was the President's final message, but the first in which he was able to report to the Congress and all the American people about such a breakthrough as the signing of the INF Treaty with the Soviet Union, eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons. For the first time, the two countries succeeded in slashing at least part of their nuclear arsenals.

In his message, Ronald Reagan said that his Presidency has replaced "blame America" with "look up to America," and we can agree with that, but America's image has improved not through the invasion of Grenada, nor through illegal arms supplies which surfaced in the Iran-contras affair as part of an undeclared war against Nicaragua. What really helped restore America's tarnished good name was the event in the White House which took place on the eighth of last month. That was an event practically welcomed by all governments, as well as the world community at large.

The missile treaty was a manifestation of common sense and (?fear) for the future of humanity. In his address, the President urged the Congress to ratify the treaty. He added that the superpowers were also within reach of an ever-more significant agreement that would reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic missiles by half. He expressed the hope to sign that agreement at a summit in Moscow this spring. That hope is also shared in our country.

Still, the President's message described the cutbacks imposed by the U.S. Congress on the U.S. Defense Department's spending. Now, even with these cuts, the Pentagon's budget has largely led to a stock exchange crash in the Western world, and isn't that more than enough? Ronald Reagan said he wished to make his last year in the White House the best of the eight. If that refers to the cause of nuclear arms reduction under reliable control, he opened good prospects of stability and security for all. The future historians are sure to appreciate the present politicians, not for proliferating missiles and nuclear charges, but for agreements to eliminate them.

INF Ratification's 'Difficult Battle' in Senate

PM261633 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1, 5

[Own Correspondent V. Gan dispatch "On the Eve: U.S. Senate Hearings Open on the Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missile Treaty"]

[Text] Washington—From the middle of last week, familiar faces could be glimpsed at Washington airport—the occupants of the offices on Capitol Hill were converging on the capital. Everything comes to an end, and that includes the U.S. lawmakers' vacations. On 23 January President Reagan said in his radio address: "On Monday, I am officially submitting the Treaty on Intermediate Nuclear Forces, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed in December, to the Senate for approval and ratification. It is a good and reliable treaty.

It will strengthen the security of America and its allies." From its first sittings the Senate—the upper house of the U.S. Congress—which is resuming work on 25 January, will embark on the examination of this unparalleled Soviet-American treaty.

A unique situation has developed which is just as unique as the circumstances which have led up to it. The most conservative and anti-Soviet U.S. Administration in many decades is acting as the "mainspring" behind a treaty with a country which it itself persisted in describing at every opportunity as the "evil empire." It is not a question of a miraculous metamorphosis in the White House, of course. The December summit in Washington, which was arrived at via Geneva and Reykjavik, quickly cleared the horizon and mapped out the positive changes in the relations between the two great powers, thus earning broad support from the U.S. population. The treaty, described as historic, which was signed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan at the Soviet-American summit essentially laid the basis for a mutual reinterpretation of the whole range of relations between the USSR and the United States, giving a powerful impetus to progress along the path of practical disarmament primarily in the main sphere, the sphere of strategic arms.

In saying this I am not trying to claim that since Washington our two countries have been enjoying cloudless skies in their relations. Alas, the shoots of political courage and unorthodoxy are sprouting with great difficulty here. The heavy burden of old stereotypes and the inertia of suspicion and distrust have by no means disappeared.

It is going to be a difficult battle. From my conversations with White House staff I can conclude that they are fully aware of the problems of the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The administration is taking steps to "bolster" its arguments in favor of the treaty. The fact is being stressed that the President, who possesses "impeccable credentials as a hardline conservative," has by no means "gone soft" on communism. In order to emphasize this, the people around the President are making intensive efforts to gain the support of the most conservative organizations. "The strategy of the White House at the hearings will aim to present the treaty not as a triumph for arms control but a victory for Reagan's tough stance around which all Americans can rally," *NEWSWEEK* wrote.

On the eve of the hearings, I talked to Senator A. Cranston, deputy leader of the Democratic majority and "manager"—as he is referred to here—of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in the Senate. This is what he said: "I am a resolute supporter of the treaty and I am confident that it will be approved with 10-12 votes against. Incidentally, the question is not how the senators will vote on the

treaty but how they will vote on the amendments which I describe as 'amendments to kill the treaty,' that is amendments which stipulate that the treaty be renegotiated.

"I am conducting talks with senators in an effort to ascertain that we have enough votes to reject these 'killer amendments.' Nonetheless, it is difficult to mention any specific figures if only for the reason that we do not yet know what amendments will be submitted. In addition, I am worried that amendments may be submitted aimed not at torpedoing or undermining the treaty but at thwarting the attempts to conclude an agreement on 50% cuts in strategic arms. I think we will be successful in ratifying the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, although I can give no guarantees. In congress, as in the country as a whole, there is strong support for the treaty."

And so, Democrat Cranston, a former presidential candidate, is supporting the Republican administration on this question. He said: "That in itself is unusual. However, at present I see no hesitation or indecision on the part of the White House. But I am still intrigued by the question: What made them do it? I believe that during his term, President Reagan became aware that one day he might have to push the button. That is a horrendous burden which makes you think about your responsibility. And I believe that he ultimately came to the conclusion that he had to do something."

Cranston expressed the hope that the administration will not undermine the ABM Treaty and that progress will be achieved on the reduction of conventional and chemical weapons. In reply to the question of what he would like to see in Soviet-American relations, the senator was very specific—an end to the arms race and a growth of confidence accompanied by the settlement of conflicts in the Third World, a reduced danger of a clash between the USSR and the United States, progress in the human rights sphere, and expanded exchanges.

Who will win the tug-of-war? Common sense or reaction, which is bogged down in the trenches of the "cold war?" This is not a rhetorical question; we will know the answer soon.

U.S. Ultra-Rightists Try To 'Torpedo' INF
LD261258 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—Hearings on the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty have begun in the United States Senate. Hearings in committees are the beginning of a long multi-phase process of the consideration of the treaty in the U.S. Senate. A large group of law-makers have not yet defined their attitude to the treaty while a number of senators do not conceal their opposition to it.

On the first day of the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, ultra-conservative Senator Jesse Helms circulated a bulky memorandum which questions many aspects of the treaty. This reflects an attempt by the ultra-rightists to torpedo the first agreement in the field of real disarmament and to frustrate the elaboration of an accord on strategic offensive arms.

Press forecasts have it that opponents of the INF Treaty will try to attain their aim by introducing various kinds of amendments and reservations during the discussion of the document in committees, as well as in full Senate.

A statement circulated by Senator Alan Cranston who comes out in support of the treaty says that while preparing a draft resolution on ratification of the treaty the Senate should avoid any actions which could undermine chances for achieving subsequent accords in the field of arms control. Mr Cranston admitted that that would be not easy to achieve.

U.S. Long-Term Strategy Report Criticized

PM261545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1

[Own Correspondent Vitaliy Gan article under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Sticking to Former Positions"]

[Text] Washington—The more realistically and constructively the USSR and the United States cooperate in resolving cardinal problems of security, the more vigorous and fierce is the reaction of those for whom the military business—which is nurtured on the soil of anti-Sovietism—is a guarantee of well-being and prosperity.

A broad program to counter the very possibility of a normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations and of joint efforts to curb the arms race was planned in October 1986. Then U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger and Poindexter, assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, set up a commission on questions of the United States' long-term strategies. The question of how to influence the minds of the Americans so that their consciousness should not break out of the trenches of bellicose anti-Sovietism, by frustrating any prospects for forging close relations with the Soviet Union, has virtually been the focus of the commission's attention from the very beginning.

And then, a few days ago, the commission's report was published and presented to President Reagan. It leaves no doubt about what the former defense secretary and presidential assistant wanted to foist upon the Americans. Couched in such terms as "Soviet expansion," "Soviet invasion," and "Soviet aggression," the main premise of the report means only one thing: There cannot and must not be any easing of tension, nor any elimination of dangerous antagonisms in our time. "The

strategic thinkers" also state: "We should not deceive ourselves.... We cannot predicate our long-term strategy on uncertain prognoses of a milder Soviet foreign policy...."

Expressions of this kind can easily be found on every page of the report. So it "lays the foundations" for an extensive plan for the necessity to strengthen military power which the authors would like to foist on the country as a "national agenda" for the years to come.

To be fair, it should be said that the report also contains the question of arms control. But this is just a mandatory sop to public sentiment. The authors look upon the agreement in this sphere as a whole only from the standpoint of "maintaining or strengthening our ability to ensure the application of force selectively and effectively."

As far as the United States' "global role" is concerned, here the commission is not afraid to forcefully advocate "intervention across the entire front," that is, throughout the world. How? The list of means includes the beefing up of U.S. rapid deployment forces and their equipping with the latest weaponry, ensuring the U.S. Armed Forces' access to bases and military facilities belonging to "friendly" countries, and boosting aid in weapons and money to repressive regimes. The report contains an appeal-cum-demand to extend support to the counterrevolutionary movements in the Third World, to increase the CIA's secret military and subversive operations, with, moreover, with the switch of the control of these operations to regional Pentagon commanders. And all this in the language of the commission members is called "the need to bring strategy into conformity with contemporary reality!"

But the main feature was, and still is the desire to discredit the Soviet Union's goodwill and its efforts in the quest for solutions to the most burning problems of the present day, and the desire to perpetuate the division of the world into separate camps bristling with weapons. And however much the initiators, patrons, and executors of this unseemly work try to assure us that it is a "pure coincidence," the publication of the report on the eve of the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the question of ratifying the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is extremely symptomatic.

Capitol Hill News Conference Against Contra Aid

LD261105 Moscow TASS in English 1052 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—New aid for the contras can only lead to the continuation of war in Central America, and bring fresh suffering to the Nicaraguan people, member of the Congress Barbara Boxer told a press conference on the Capitol Hill on Monday. Six months of peaceful negotiations between Central American presidents made it possible to make headway

in moving towards peace in the region. Six years of American support to the contras meant war, killings and violence. President Reagan claims that support for the contras was a guarantee of peace. In reality, it is a guarantee of war, paid for by the blood of Nicaraguan people.

The press conference in the US Congress was sponsored by those opposed to the bloodshed in Nicaragua as President Reagan was preparing to make a new request for contra aid to the US Congress. Speaking at the press conference Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, condemned the attempts to frustrate the peace process in Central America.

TASS Cites POST on U.S. Marines Spy Case
LD261943 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—Scandalous details of the "case" of U.S. Marine Guards at the United States Embassy in Moscow fabricated with the involvement of the U.S. secret services come to light now. Some of U.S. Marine Guards were then accused of giving "Soviet agents" entry into the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, after which Washington raised a provocative anti-Soviet uproar about the "violation of sovereignty" of the U.S. diplomatic representation.

And now after an investigation that was unprecedented in its scope and lasted for many months. Reagan administration officials have finally admitted that "the Marines didn't let any Soviet spies into the embassy", THE WASHINGTON POST notes. Moreover, it was revealed that Corporal Arnold Bracy, Corporal Robert Williams and Sergeant Vincent Downes had initially admitted "involvement in espionage" because of coercion by representatives of the Naval Investigative Service. Bracy, specifically, later admitted that he "was threatened into signing a statement without being permitted to read it". THE WASHINGTON POST notes that those who were interrogating them resorted not only to threats but also to psychological intimidation. The newspaper writes that there is no transcript of the interrogations, no tape recording, no statement from a nonparticipating observer.

And yet these groundless accusations proved enough to launch another bout of spy mania in Washington in the spring of last year, precisely at a time when positive changes were nascent in Soviet-American relations and real prospects opened for achieving important agreements in the area of arms control. This is, apparently, the real political essence of that "spy case", which proved to be embarrassing for those who concocted that affair. A "nonoccurring event", this is how the current U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, has called the affair.

The details reported by THE WASHINGTON POST indicate that this is not just some "mistake" but a premeditated political action, show that definite circles in the USA are ready to resort to provocations and lawlessness in order to hamper the normalisation of Soviet-American relations, to whip up suspiciousness and mutual distrust.

China

Envoy Addresses Ceremony on Deng's Book
OW221332 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Grigoryev report from "Along the Path of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners, we have reported that the USSR's State Committee of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade held a ceremony in Moscow on 15 January to introduce the selected works of Deng Xiaoping entitled *Principal Issues Concerning Present-Day China*. Station special correspondent Grigoryev reports:

These works by Deng Xiaoping were published in Beijing in 1987. Shortly thereafter, bookstores and publishing houses in the Soviet Union were publishing the Russian edition of the book in great numbers in Moscow. The book of the famous Chinese party and state activist contains his speeches from September 1982 to June 1987 on all aspects of China's domestic and foreign policies, as well as present-stage socialist construction in China.

Comrade Nenashev, chairman of the USSR's State Committee of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, Comrade (Pryakhov), President of (?Today Bookstore) Publishing House, Soviet and Chinese officials, socialites, and Soviet and foreign correspondents attended the ceremony.

Introducing the Russian edition of Deng Xiaoping's works, Comrade Nenashev, Chairman of the USSR's State Committee of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, said: We regard the publication of this book as an important social and political event, which is [words indistinct]. We have not published Chinese leaders' works for a long time. The publication of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works is an expression of the new thinking. It shows that we have recognized that problems and prejudice should not become the causes of tense relations between the two countries. Publication of the Russian edition of Deng Xiaoping's works is a convincing proof of the rapid development of Soviet-Chinese relations as well as our growing needs for this development.

Comrade Nenashev added: The Soviet people have shown great interest in reform and other developments in China. We look upon these developments with respect and good intentions. Our interest in these developments is also due, in large part, to the fact that they are similar to reform in our country. Therefore, what is so special about the publication of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works is that it enables Soviet readers to derive satisfaction from their growing interest in contemporary China and to understand the essence of changes in our neighboring socialist country.

The Soviet people realize the importance of the reforms undertaken by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in China to the economic achievements made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in December 1978. This also accounts for the people's interest in this matter. Of particular importance to the Soviet leaders is the fact that China's reform is for the sake of peace. In the struggle for disarmament and against the nuclear threat, the Soviet Union and China are moving ahead in the same direction.

In conclusion, Nenashev said: I believe that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works will help to further improve mutual understanding between the two countries, and to foster a firm goodneighborly, mutually beneficial, and cooperative relationship.

Then the chairman of the USSR's State Committee of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, on behalf of Soviet publishers, presented the Russian edition of Deng Xiaoping's works to Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador.

After receiving the book, Yu Hongliang said: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works, *Principal Issues Concerning Present-Day China*, will be published and on sale in your country soon. In preparation for the publication of this book, the USSR's State Committee of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade has done a lot of fruitful work. I hereby extend my sincere thanks to Chairman Nenashev and the State Committee of Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. We also give our heartfelt thanks to all Soviet comrades who have worked hard for the publication of that book.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is an outstanding Chinese leader of the older generation familiar to the Soviet people. With the courage derived from Marxist theory, in a realistic spirit, drawing on his rich experiences, and with farsightedness and sagacity, he has made important contributions to building socialism and creating a new situation in China characterized by reform and opening to the outside world. In the book to be published soon, Comrade Deng Xiaoping comprehensively expounds the principal issues faced by present-day China. He touches on politics, economy, ideology, science and technology, culture and education, foreign policy, and many other fields. This book should enable the Soviet people to get a

more comprehensive and deeper understanding of China's reform and socialist modernization drive at present. Better mutual understanding is bound to further strengthen the longstanding traditional friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

Northeast Asia

Ryzhkov Greets Joint Economic Forum in Tokyo
LD270912 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT
27 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—"In its relations with Japan, the Soviet Union is consistently pursuing a course towards building confidence and goodneighbourhood and broadening mutually beneficial cooperation, that would be free from discrimination and restrictions, in all areas, including the economic sphere," says a message sent by Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov to the 11th joint session of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet Committees for Economic Cooperation opened in Tokyo today.

The message pointed out that the recently signed Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was enhancing the level of security and shaping a more favourable political climate around the world.

This created good conditions for the further expansion of trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation among nations, including the Soviet Union and Japan.

The head of the Soviet Government favoured full use of the available immense potential of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic relations and more active use of their new forms. [Moscow TASS in English at 0538 GMT on 27 January adds that a message from Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita was read at the meeting]

Japanese Premier Reviews Ties With USSR
LD250938 Moscow TASS in English 0913 GMT
25 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 25 TASS—Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita of Japan today delivered a policy speech at a session of the Japanese parliament. He said that the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was the first step towards nuclear disarmament.

Japan hopes for a further extension of the constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States for the purpose of attaining a drastic and balanced reduction in strategic armaments, settling regional conflicts and developing East-West relations on the whole.

Noboru Takeshita announced the intention of his cabinet to work for shifts in Japanese-Soviet relations and exert efforts to establish goodneighbourly relations

between the two countries. At the same time, the head of government made once again the development of stable relations between Japan and the USSR conditional on meeting Tokyo's territorial claims to the Soviet Union.

USSR, Japan Discuss International Problems

*PM270939 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Japanese consultations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 22-23 January on questions of the situation in the Near East, the Iran-Iraq war, and the situation around Afghanistan. The Japanese Foreign Ministry delegation headed by T. Onda, general director of the Near and Middle East and African Countries Department, was received by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and had a meeting with I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Japan, U.S. Disagree on Scientific Cooperation

*LD251139 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT
25 Jan 88*

[Text] Tokyo January 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vasilii Golovnin:

The fifth round of Japanese-U.S. talks held to review the bilateral agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, which expires on January 31, has ended without results. The newspaper YOMIURI writes that at the January 21-23 meeting in Washington the sides failed to overcome serious differences which still divided them.

In particular, Tokyo is displeased with U.S. attempts to include in the text of a new agreement a provision on classifying as secret joint developments which can have military significance. Japan is also opposed to Washington's attempts to gain full rights on the results of bilateral research conducted on American territory.

The USA is expected to present by the end of this month a new variant of the revised draft agreement. However, YOMIURI points out, Washington will hardly make serious concessions to Tokyo. As a result, the newspaper writes, Japan and the USA can soon find themselves without the bilateral agreement on scientific and technical cooperation.

Japan Imposes Sanctions on DPRK

*LD261333 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT
26 Jan 88*

[Text] Tokyo January 26 TASS—The Japanese Government officially announced today the imposing of discriminatory sanctions on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Following Seoul and Washington,

Tokyo accused it of being connected with the disappearance of a South Korean passenger airliner in the area of the Burmese-Thai border last November.

According to a statement of Keijo Obuchi, secretary general of the cabinet of ministers of Japan, that was published here, from now on contacts between diplomatic representatives of the two countries will be strictly limited. The exchange of visits by officials and the transit via Japan of the planes bound for North Korea were actually banned, control over the entry to Japan of DPRK citizens was intensified. All those measures were taken in accordance with the agreement reached during the recent visit of Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita to the U.S. which entered DPRK on the notorious list of the "countries supporting terrorism".

The decisions on sanctions taken by the cabinet was denounced today by the Socialist Party. It pointed out in its statement that the government had taken punitive measures while real circumstances of the disappearance of the South Korean airliner were not clear. The Socialist Party of Japan emphasized that all the accusations against DPRK were based only on the evidence of a woman passenger of the disappeared plane who is kept by the Seoul authorities at the moment.

The opposition Komeito Party warned that the sanctions could heighten tension in the Korean peninsula and negatively affect the 1988 Olympics. It pointed out in its statement that the government should have investigated the matter from an independent position instead of hurriedly siding with Washington and Seoul.

Tokyo's decision fully runs counter to the interests and aspirations of the peoples of DPRK and Japan wishing to maintain goodneighbourly relations. Han Tok-su, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Korean Citizens Living in Japan, said here today.

DPRK Advocates 'Dialogue', 'Detente'

*LD240944 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT
24 Jan 88*

[Text] Pyongyang January 24 TASS—The People's Democratic Republic of Korea continues advocating dialogue and detente in Korea. Its recent proposal that a joint North-South conference be held as soon as possible provides for settlement through the effort of both sides of the "abnormal state of their relations, opens up new prospects for dialogue, peace and reunification of the country," writes today the newspaper NODONG SINMUN, the publication of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea.

The development of relations between the DPRK and the United States is, the newspaper believes, a pressing need for solving the Korea reunification question. Over half a year that passed since the publication of the statement of the government of the republic which

proposed a large-scale stage-by-stage reduction of troops on the peninsula and multilateral negotiations on disarmament and detente in Korea, the DPRK exerted tireless efforts towards its realisation.

But, the newspaper writes, Washington from the very beginning turned its back to these initiatives. NODONG SINMUN calls upon the United States to conclude with the DPRK a treaty of peace and thereby make a contribution to preservation of peace and reunification on the island. [as received]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Government Approves Rarotonga Treaty Protocols
LD261444 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the USSR has studied and approved the protocols Nos 2 and 3 to the treaty on the nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific (Rarotonga Treaty) that were submitted to it by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The protocols were signed by the USSR on December 15, 1986 and have now been forwarded to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for ratification.

Protocol No 2 contains commitments not to use nuclear weapons and not to threaten the use of nuclear weapons against member countries of the treaty. Protocol No 3 obliges them not to test any whatsoever nuclear explosive devices in the zone of the treaty's operation.

The Soviet Union was the first nuclear power to accede to the Rarotonga Treaty. When doing so the Soviet Government stated that the creation of such a zone in the south of the Pacific serves as an important contribution to the forming of a reliable system of security in the Asia-Pacific region, will strengthen the international regime of nuclear non-proliferation, facilitate the attainment of the task of abolishing nuclear weapons fully and for ever. The Soviet Union expressed hope that the other nuclear powers too will show a serious attitude to this initiative of the region's countries and on their part will do everything to reliably ensure and guarantee a genuinely nuclear-free status of the declared zone.

But it was only the People's Republic of China that signed the corresponding protocols to the treaty early last year. As to the United States, Britain and France, they have refused to accede to the treaty clearly fearing that a dissemination of such zones in the world will undermine their policy of "nuclear deterrence".

PRK's Hun Sen Leaves Paris Following Talks
LD251644 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT
25 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 25 TASS—Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, today left Paris. He

was staying here to conduct the second round of talks with Prince Norodom Sihanouk focussing on the quest for ways to settle the situation in Kampuchea and around it.

The sides on the whole positively assess the outcome of the present round and agreed to continue consultations. The next round of talks is scheduled for late April in Pyongyang.

Arrives in Moscow

LD251930 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1725 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—Hun Sen, KPRP Central Committee Politburo member, PRK Council of Ministers chairman, and PRK foreign minister, arrived in Moscow from Paris today on his way home.

Talks With Shevardnadze

LD261439 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, had a conversation today with Hun Sen, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, who made a stop-over in Moscow on his way home from France.

Hun Sen told Shevardnadze about the results of the second meeting with Prince Norodom Sihanouk held in Paris on January 20 through 21. He described the talks as fruitful, as another step forward in the quest for ways towards a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Hun Sen said that the People's Republic of Kampuchea was doing and would continue to do all that depends on it for putting into life the national reconciliation policy. He pointed out the growth of understanding in the international arena of the need for settling the Kampuchean problem by peaceful means and positively assessed the support rendered by India, Indonesia, France and other countries to the dialogue that has been started.

Hun Sen welcomed the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and the readiness of Vietnam to start talks with China on the improvement of Vietnamese-Chinese relations, which would promote the improvement of the situation in Southeast Asia and, in the long run, the settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Shevardnadze said that, in the opinion of the Soviet Union, there is no alternative to a political dialogue between the Kampuchean sides. It welcomes the accord reached by Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk on a number of problems, as well as their agreement to

continue the talks. The reconciliation of all the national patriotic forces of Kampuchea is the only right key to the settlement of the situation around Kampuchea, to the establishment of the relations of peace, good neighbourliness and cooperation in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union positively assesses the idea of holding an international conference on Kampuchea and reaffirms its readiness to cooperate with other parties concerned in working for achieving a just Kampuchean settlement that would meet the supreme interests of the Khmer nation and promote the improvement of the political climate in the region.

The conversation was held in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternal understanding on all the problems discussed.

PRK Leaders Express Thanks for Greetings Note
BK250245 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] The KPRP Central Committee, the Council of State, and PRK Council of Ministers have expressed profound thanks to Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev, Andrey Gromyko, and Nikolay Ryzhkov for their congratulatory message on the PRK's 9th founding anniversary.

The message expressed thanks to the Soviet Union for providing moral and material support with the aim of normalizing the situation in Cambodia and Soviet diplomatic efforts aimed at resolving the Cambodian problem and other issues in the region.

Philippine Envoy on Developing Bilateral Ties
HK250335 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE
in English 24 Jan 88 p 14

[Interview by Amando Doronila and Marites Sison with USSR Ambassador Oleg Mikhailovich Sokolov—bold-face as published]

[Text] The New Soviet ambassador to the Philippines, Mr. Oleg Mikhailovich Sokolov, is a departure from the popular caricature of the dour, uncommunicative and mysterious Russian diplomat. Mr. Sokolov, 51, is amicable, urbane, articulate in English, relaxed, and accessible to media for interviews.

In the Gorbachev era of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring), Mr. Sokolov fits into the new mold of Soviet diplomacy. Perhaps his long years of service in the Soviet Embassy in Washington has something to do with this. Before he came to Manila, Mr. Sokolov was minister-counsellor in Washington for seven years.

Pipe-smoking and well-dressed, Mr. Sokolov answers journalists' questions patiently, giving the Soviets the "human-face" it wants to project in the Gorbachev era. That, plus stints in Washington will surely be put to good

use in Manila given the review of the US military bases agreement this year, the Pacific thrust of the Gorbachev initiative in Vladivostok, and the influence of American culture in the country.

Mr. Sokolov's casual approach to diplomacy, though very different from the humorless manner of the former Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov, does not entirely eradicate the enigmatic nature of the Russians. For despite glasnost, the Russians remain enigmatic.

When we asked for Mr. Sokolov's bio-data, the Soviet news organization NOVOSTI sent us a sketchy profile that revealed little about the man but much about the Russian enigma.

The bio-data merely stated that Oleg Sokolov was born in 1937 (no place of birth is mentioned), that he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations, that he entered the diplomatic service in 1960. From 1968 to 1972, he was second, then first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington and from 1972 to 1981, he was first secretary, then councillor, then head of section, then deputy director of the Department of U.S. Affairs of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1981, Mr. Sokolov was named minister-counsellor at the Washington embassy.

The ambassador is married and has a daughter, three years old. The final entry in his brief bio-data says: hobby—tennis (no grade mentioned).

Opening Statement of Mr. Sokolov.

Exactly two years ago, we advanced the program of ridding the world of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. We pride ourselves not only on having advanced these proposals but also on the fact that these proposals were accompanied by an expression of our political philosophy. Insofar as international relations, peace in the world, and security for all nations are concerned.

It is what we call new political thinking which is based on two pillars. One is the premise that the world in which we live is still dangerous and could even become more dangerous with the addition of new weapons. It has already been saturated with that, and the insecurity of the world depends and proceeds precisely from this unfortunate state of events.

The other premise is that the world is simultaneously interdependent and the security of one nation, of one people, cannot be achieved or attained without the security of other nations and peoples still less at the expense of other nations and peoples. So that's why I still believe that a system of comprehensive security and peace should be established in the world.

Hence, this proposal by General Secretary Gorbachev to suggest ways that we think would lead to this comprehensive system of international affairs.

Three years have passed and what has been achieved? I think that the situation has become healthier not only in the general way, in the general atmosphere, in the general relaxation of tensions in the world, but also because some very concrete steps have been taken of late, I mean, of course, the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States completely eliminating the two classes of nuclear weapons on the global scale which I think is important not only for Europe and the Atlantic but also for Asia and the Pacific.

What we are looking for now is the next step which the two leaders of the two countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, have already more or less agreed on, and that is to try to eliminate the threats of the strategic nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the US and if that is attainable we're planning to do that by the time of their next meeting in Moscow this year.

I could just give you one small example of what this means in terms of actual destructive power. It has been alleged that the INF treaty is but a fraction of the entire arsenals of the two countries. Actually it comprises four percent of their over-all nuclear arsenals yet this four percent represents in destructive power the equivalent of two hundred World War II's. **What are the implications of the INF for, first, the ASEAN declaration for intensification of efforts for the establishment of a ZOPFAN [Zone of Freedom, Peace and Neutrality], second, for the declaration or a treaty for a nuclear weapons free zone in Southeast Asia, and third, for the bases problems between the Philippines and US?**

First of all, I think that the whole implication of the treaty is quite apparent not only, as I said, for the world at large because after all we are producing the weapons on a global basis, but also for this specific area because the elimination of these weapons takes place also in our Asia territory. It is important to note that the INF treaty is a very important element in the reduction of the nuclear factor in the Asian and Pacific area.

Why is that so? Let me point out the fact which I think is sometimes overlooked here. You may recall that in the process of our negotiations with the US, at one point, we were insisting on retaining 100 warheads in the Asian part of the Soviet territory so as to offset the nuclear presence of the other power in the same area. But then we removed this condition without any reference to the continued nuclear presence of that other power in the region.

Now let me point out the fact that this very step by the Soviet Union was not the first one in terms of actually reducing the nuclear danger in the area. We have made a solemn declaration that we will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, coupled with a similar declaration on

the part of the People's Republic of China. That means reduction of the nuclear danger in the area. So these things combined I think are favorable to the situation in the area.

What effects would the INF treaty have on the bases here? Senate President Jovito Salonga has said the bases here may no longer be of such crucial importance to the US.

Our position with regards to the military bases is very clear and very open. We do not think that the security of the area, and by that I mean the area at large, is going to be enhanced by the retention of the bases or the perpetuation of the bases. Rather we believe that the withdrawal of the bases would be more becoming for the security of the entire region and we have said not once but many times that in case this happens (and that of course is something which other countries have to decide by themselves... it will be their sovereign decision) the Soviet Union will not leave that kind of step unanswered and that means quite a lot.

I have already pointed out that there are other favorable factors such as the INF treaty and the fact that the USSR in general has solemnly proclaimed that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. So the rationale for retaining the bases is getting more and more eroded. Insofar as our official attitude toward the creation of ZOPFAN and the nuclear free zone in the area is concerned, we certainly support these ideas and we have said so publicly in our official statements. We also support a broad dialogue with individual countries of ASEAN and also with that organization as a group, on matters of security, peace, mutual interests and collaboration.

Are you prepared to pull out your forces from facilities in Vietnam and under what conditions?

Well we have already indicated that if the presence of the military bases is ended we will not leave that matter unanswered and we'll certainly take appropriate steps. But let us examine the concept of so-called balance which supposedly exists in the area, this is a little bit strange logic to me because there certainly is an asymmetry within that kind of a balance.

Now there's no denial that the military presence of another Asian power is overwhelming in the area. So when we are talking about the balance we have to also view whatever facilities we may have in the area against that ground as well. It is precisely on that premise that our idea of reducing this presence and the other power's taking head of that reduction are essential. So we believe that the first step in that direction given the imbalance within that bound is somebody else's and I think it is only fair.

Given the INF treaty, do you think that it has opened the way as a model for arms reduction that will make the bases in the Philippines less important to the US?

Well it's very hard for me to speculate on what is and what is not important to the US. But the point we say are some of the obvious things which I think everybody knows about—that is, that the bases were here long before whatever presence of the Soviet Union was in the area. They were here, as far back as 1947, and they have been perpetually the suspect at that time.

In that particular strategic and international environment, the rationale for the bases was certainly different and therefore, when we speculate, when we try to talk about what is in the interest of the US, it certainly is not my job to answer that question. But I think that the environment which is now shaping up points in the direction of diminishing the need, the rationale and the actual foundation for either maintaining the arms, the weapons, the bases, the military presence, or increasing the weaponry in the world including the areas of Asia and the Pacific.

During the ASEAN summit a secret report of the ASEAN foreign ministers to their heads of government stated that the Soviet Union was expanding its military influence in Southeast Asia and that this is a destabilizing factor in the region. Can you comment on that?

First of all, I cannot comment on something which is not official. Secondly as to the core of the question, let me say that even if that pains me, we are ready to deal with that. Now if you take, let's say, the Vladivostok speech by Gorbachev, it was there and then when it was suggested that we should perhaps, after the negotiations, work on the reduction of let's say, naval activities in Asia and the Pacific, especially ships which carry nuclear weapons.

Another proposal was that we perhaps could limit the areas in which submarines are supposed to operate.

There have been recent meetings in Karachi between American officials and your officials on the Afghanistan question. Do you foreshadow any significant breakthrough in terms of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan within the year and also withdrawal of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia? Cambodia, after all, is a key question in the Indo-China problem.

Well, you were saying that there were meetings in Karachi between the Soviet and American representatives. This is not entirely correct. What we had at that time was a visit by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to Kabul on the one hand and a visit by Undersecretary Armacost to Pakistan on the other hand.

But what I would like to say is that we are indeed looking forward to the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the course of this year. Now we have said many times the political decision to withdraw from Afghanistan has already been taken by the Soviet Union. What we are now looking for is precisely the arrangement or rather

the last part of that arrangement which of course belongs to the negotiations between the Afghans and the Pakistanis through the United Nations representatives in Geneva.

One of the optimistic signs is that it has been agreed that there will have to be a mutual arrangement so as both the Soviet Union and the US will serve as guarantors of that settlement in the area.

Naturally, we assume that if the US is going to serve as a guarantor on its part then it would mean that it would cease to give its support to the resistance forces.

Insofar as the Kampuchean situation, we also see some hopeful signs there. First of all, there has been the new process of direct talks between the parties involved, I mean the Kampucheans and Premier Hun Sen on the one hand, and, of course, Prince Sihanouk on the other. What I think is extremely important is the understanding that they have achieved during their first meeting and that is that the solution to the Kampuchean problem is to be found on the path of political dialogue and between the Kampuchean sides themselves.

How many troops do you really have now in Afghanistan? Do you want to reveal it now?

Well it's been reported already and I think the number is about 100,000.

How would you assess the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines?

Well, I think that we have, basically, a lot of untapped potential. Now let me say first of all the policy of the Soviet Union with regard to its relationship with the Philippines is very open and promising.

Our relations are young; they are slightly more than 10 years of age. We feel that we could develop it further along the entire spectrum of issues or areas in which it could really be of help. One of these is obviously the area of political dialogue.

It seems to me we have a lot of potential in developing our economic relationship. Other areas are also available and open. There are encouraging changes like the people contracts, like the changes also in the media.

Sir, could you be more specific as to how the economic relations between the Philippines and the Soviet Union can be broadened?

Well we're working on various projects and one possibility is joint ventures between Filipino corporations and those in the Soviet Union. There are other opportunities but the problem is that they have not probably been explored yet, not in detail, not in real terms.

There seems to be a growing interest in the Philippines in an economic relationship with the Soviet Union and certainly there's an interest on our part to have broader economic relations with the Philippines as well as any other country in the area. I'm saying that not because we are altruistic—in this respect nothing could be further than that. There has to be mutual benefit.

Ambassador Alejandro Melchor has put to the Cabinet about half a dozen projects. Is there any development, and if there are problems, what seems to be the cause for lack of progress on these projects?

Well, I don't know what's been causing the delay but it seems to me that the intention is certainly there.

In fact we're waiting for the arrival of the Soviet delegation to come over and perhaps meet business people here and discuss in concrete terms what can be done, what are the possibilities and opportunities here and what fair trade will be attractive or lucrative to both sides.

I understand that the Soviet Union is seeking membership in the ADB [Asian Development Bank]. Has there been any concrete step in that direction?

Insofar as the bank is concerned we sent our observer last year to a meeting of the board of governors of that bank which occurred in Osaka, Japan. I understand the bank is extending another invitation this year for our observer to come over and the meeting will be taking place here in Manila. That's all I can say at this point.

So what's the relationship of the Communist Party here and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union? There have been very persistent reports of arms shipments here coming from allegedly communist sources.

I have already had a couple of chances to dispute that or to disavow that. I know for a fact that no such shipments existed. It existed in the minds of those who write the stories and I think there is no misunderstanding between the government of the USSR and the government of the Philippines. There is no problem of interference in our respective internal relations or even in our respective internal affairs between the USSR and the Philippines. Insofar as the contacts, we don't have any. We do not maintain any contact with what you call the Communist Party.

Is that still a carryover of the support of the Soviet party in the old Communist Party here?

Well it has been a fact for many years. Nothing has changed.

What about people-to-people contacts?

I'm not aware of that.

You were the No. 2 man in the embassy in Washington. Is there any significance to your assignment here because of your background and experience in Washington and given the US-Philippine problem especially in the coming years over the bases, over security arrangements?

Well frankly I don't see any connection between my assignment here in Manila and the previous record of service in the US except of course for the fact that I have been in the foreign service of the USSR, including my service in the US, for about 27 years by now. So I'd rather look at this assignment as an extremely interesting activity, as a natural result of my service for the Soviet Union.

Do you detect any hesitation on the part of the government to forge stronger ties with the Soviet Union in the light of what has often been said that the Philippines has "special relations" with the US?

Well, no, I don't think I can trace any particular reluctance on the part of the government of the Philippines to develop greater relations with the Soviet Union. I think we simply have to discuss what are the intentions in that relationship, what are the possibilities, what we can do to fulfill what we can political dialogue between the two countries.

What issues could be involved in the political dialogue...

First of all, the issue to be addressed will be the common security problems in the area. It seems to me that it is very important to have this direct dialogue so that there will be no misunderstanding between the two countries as to the intentions and policies of each of them toward each other.

That's on the ambassadorial level...at the beginning...

Yes, but I'm also looking forward to the possibility of our deputy foreign minister coming to Manila.

Coming here, this year?

We have been talking about that as far back as last year and there was some question in terms of specific terms associated with it. I think that we could explore very well the possibility of interchange. We should play a greater role in promoting the overall political relations between the two countries and I know for a fact that our government will definitely bring a congressional delegation from the Philippines to the USSR. And I have the honor of transmitting such an invitation to the Congress of the Philippines.

What about the possibilities of President Aquino visiting the Soviet Union?

We'd welcome such a possibility, no question about that.

But has an invitation been extended yet to her?

There has been.

Was it accepted?

Well, it was extended in the message of Gorbachev relayed to your Government on behalf of our President Gromyko at the time of presentation of my credentials.

Sir, for your profile, how are you adjusting to your post?

Frankly, the first couple of days were a little hard on me because the difference in temperature between Moscow and Manila was at least 35 degrees. But gradually it became okay and I haven't really experienced any problem here. But I think what is personally important for me is my daughter who is three years old and who has been doing fine since the very beginning. She did not notice this sort of difference or at least she adapted herself to this very well.

Otherwise I think this country is very friendly and I am discovering it for the first time because it is the first time for me in this country. I don't have difficulty with my contacts.

Near East & South Asia

Purpose of Mubarak Trip to West Examined

PM270955 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy report under the "International Commentary" rubric: "On H. Mubarak's Trip to the West"]

[Text] Cairo—The second part of the chain of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's state visits is beginning. After a recent trip to the Persian Gulf countries the Egyptian president is bound for West Europe and the United States.

It is obviously appropriate to note here that observers largely link the growth of Egypt's foreign policy activity with its quite productive efforts to build up relations with a number of Arab countries, including the establishment of diplomatic relations with the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Yet the results of the "western" part of H. Mubarak's trip are awaited with very great interest. Here it is noted that two packages—the political and economic—stand out very clearly in the spectrum of its tasks. The MENA news agency reports that the visit's political aims include primarily drawing the West's attention to the very fierce repressions to which Palestinians are being subjected on the territories occupied by Israel and the creation of the necessary atmosphere for holding an international conference on the Near East. It is absolutely impossible to defer the settlement of the crisis any further, the Egyptian president said before his trip, because this could plunge the entire region into chaos.

Speaking of the economic aspects of his overseas trip, the president spoke of Egypt's desire to develop this sphere of relations with the West and international financial organizations. But he is convinced that these relations should be more flexible and dynamic. MENA has reported that, in preparing for the trip, the president prepared himself in detail with the report submitted by Egyptian Prime Minister 'A. Sidqi on the state of Egypt's relations with the international economic organizations (primarily the IMF), which stresses in particular that economic reforms in the country should be carried out in strict accordance with the interests of social stability and the state's potential.

This recommendation can perhaps only be regarded in close connection with the demands from the IMF itself that Egypt abolish the subsidies for necessities and carry out reforms drastically restricting the state sector. Many people are writing and talking about this. Thus, MENA notes that in his remarks to the press, a U.S. congressman who met recently with H. Mubarak agreed with the Egyptian president that the IMF's demands for such economic reforms in the countries which are in its debt undoubtedly carry a strong risk of causing social upheavals in those countries. That is why, he concludes, it is essential to bring pressure upon the IMF to ensure that this organization displays flexibility toward Egypt. The president is obviously trying to achieve the same thing during his trip.

But, as the press notes with anxiety, it is not without reason that the IMF has earned the reputation of an extremely unyielding partner....

Weekly Interviews 'Arafat on W. Bank Unrest

PM270921 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jan 88 p 14

["Topical Interview" with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat in Baghdad by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA own correspondent Konstantin Kapitonov and APN own correspondent Yevgeniy Mikiyenko: "Actions Will Continue Until the Occupation Ends"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Baghdad—The assignment from the editorial office was succinctly stated: Do a piece on recent events in the Arab territories seized by Israel.

I and my APN colleague knew that PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat was in Baghdad. Abu 'Ammar, as the Palestinians call their leader, would undoubtedly have some new and authentic information on the actions by the inhabitants of the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Strip, which are now into their second month.

We called the PLO mission in Baghdad and were told that Abu 'Ammar was very busy but would find the time for Soviet correspondents. A few hours later they gave us an address, first making a note of our forenames and surnames, the number of our car, and its color and make.

Yasir 'Arafat received us in his small, sparsely furnished office. He was wearing a dark green military uniform with a wide belt. On his head he wore a winter cap bearing the PLO emblem. Dark circles under his eyes bespoke the burden this man of short stature had to carry on his shoulders.

"First of all," Yasir 'Arafat said, sitting down in his chair, "I want through your paper to thank the Soviet people for their constant support and solidarity with our struggle. There is no justification for the Israeli rulers' racist, reactionary policy toward our women and children and the people as a whole. We Palestinians highly value your friendship."

Tea was brought in and Yasir 'Arafat poured it into cups and handed them to us. Then he took off his cap, baring his head, and said:

"I am prepared to answer any question...."

"Where did you get information on events in the occupied territories?"

He gave a nod in the direction of the telephone and explained:

"Every hour, and sometimes more frequently, I get a call from Gaza and from the West Bank. Our people provide full information on what is happening. Contacts are conducted via Europe...."

"Can you tell us about recent events?"

"I want to remind you," Yasir 'Arafat replied, "that actions by inhabitants of the occupied territories are a constant factor. They keep on dying down and then flaring up again with renewed force. The latest actions began on 7 December last year in the Gaza Strip. On that day an Israeli patrol had opened fire on two cars with Palestinians inside. As a result four people were killed and nine were wounded. The occupying authorities were quick to state that it had been an ordinary traffic accident. But the administration of the Sarafand hospital, where the injured were taken, refuted this lie, saying that the victims had received bullet wounds. On hearing this, young Palestinians went out onto the streets, protesting the Israeli authorities' tyranny and violence. Actions took place throughout the Gaza Strip and then spilled over into the West Bank. We are confident that they will continue until the Israeli occupation ends."

"What civilian casualties have there been?"

Yasir 'Arafat opened the top drawer of the desk and took out a file:

"Here are the lists of casualties. So far 80 people have been killed, mainly women and children. Some 700 have been injured. But I am sure that there are considerably more. People are afraid to call the hospital because the Israelis take them straight from the ward and throw them in jail. According to recent figures, more than 7,000 people have been arrested."

He handed us the lists of the dead. We looked through them. But we looked not so much at the names as at the ages. The oldest was 75. The youngest was 15 days old....

The telephone rang in a shrill tone.

"Hello," Yasir 'Arafat said on picking up the handset. "Who is this?"

He became animated and almost shouted down the phone:

"How are you, Muhsin?"

There was a pause:

"Thanks for your efforts.... May Allah help you...." He put his hand over the mouthpiece and said: "It's from Gaza...."

Then he took some clean sheets of paper and started to take notes, repeating them aloud:

"Fierce clashes are continuing.... The army is firing on demonstrators.... It is supported by helicopters.... What?... Helicopters are dropping tear gas bombs.... Another demonstrator has been killed? What name?... Mahmud 'Ali 'Awdah, 45.... Some people have been badly wounded.... In refugee camps?..."

He was silent for a while, listening to Muhsin, then he started to read aloud:

"Some 23 camps blockaded.... Fifth day without water and electricity.... People going hungry.... Five hospitals in the camps completely destroyed.... No medicines.... Women have staged a demonstration...."

He fell silent again and started to quickly write something down. When he had finished, he spoke into the receiver:

"Thanks again, Muhsin. Take care of yourself. I'll wait for news." Then he turned to us: "The Israeli authorities are using the regular army to put down the actions. Four divisions, security forces, and border troops. The army subunits are supported by 150 helicopters which, as you heard, are dropping tear gas bombs and nerve gas bombs. Incidentally, there was an unexploded bomb in Gaza with 'Made in the USA. 1988' on it."

He thought for a moment and then explained:

"You know where the bombs came from? Defense Minister Rabin reached agreement on the supplies during his U.S. visit last December. As you can see, the Americans have been prompt. Rabin has said that with these bombs he will get even with the Palestinians in 2-3 days...."

The telephone rang again. After talking, Yasir 'Arafat told us:

"It was from the West Bank.... As in Gaza, fierce clashes are continuing there. There are Palestinian flags and slogans everywhere: 'No occupation!' 'Yes to the PLO!' The commander of the paratroopers has just received an order from the Israeli authorities to use any method to 'break the Palestinians' back'."

[Correspondents] What effect are the actions by the inhabitants of the occupied territories having on the political situation in Israel?

['Arafat] We have accurate information that 28 officers and 161 men of the regular Israeli army have refused to participate in putting down the uprising. Israeli peace-loving and democratic forces have held several demonstrations as a sign of solidarity with our struggle. There are increasing differences of opinion among the Israeli leadership and there are more and more calls for dialogue with the PLO.

[Correspondents] Will the recent events contribute to the convening of an international conference on the Near East?

['Arafat] Certainly! Because such a conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all interested parties, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is the mechanism capable of solving the Near East crisis and, therefore, of restoring the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

As we were leaving Yasir 'Arafat's office the telephone rang again.

TASS Comments on Israel's Middle East Policy
LD261823 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The stake on separate back stage deals, the refusal to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to national self-determination and to have an independent state of their own, the striving to perpetuate the occupation of the captured Arab lands underlie, as before, the aggressive course of Israel's Zionist leadership in the Middle East.

The development of events convincingly showed that exactly this course led to the appearance of a dangerous seat of tension which creates a real threat to the vital

interests of all countries and peoples of the region. The Palestinian uprising on the occupied lands demonstrated once again the need for taking undelayed steps towards solution of the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict. Convocation of an international conference on the Middle East has become topical, as never before. In the present-day conditions such a conference is the only way leading to a fair and durable peace in the region. All Arab countries, the U.N. General Assembly came out in support of the forum. Certain changes took place even in the stands of those sides which earlier turned down the idea of a conference. The Soviet Union's proposal that the U.N. Security Council should hold a meeting at the level of foreign ministers to work out ways of convening the forum has given rise to a broad response.

Odious against this background is the stand of Tel Aviv which continues, contrary to common sense, insisting on separate, Camp David-patterned negotiations in conditions of the continuing occupation of Arab lands. Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir has lately made a whole series of statements categorically turning down an international conference. "To break the bones of Palestinians", as the Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhaq Rabin cynically said, to sink in blood the popular uprising on the occupied lands, to torpedo the constructive collective efforts aimed at a comprehensive Middle East settlement—such are the unseemly aims of Tel Aviv's stand at the current stage. This is a dangerous course, fraught with serious consequences, including to Israel itself.

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Foreign Ministry Official
PM261549 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "High Rating"]

[Text] Tripoli, 25 Jan—V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium and chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration, who is on a visit here, has been received by M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution. M. al-Qadhdhafi spoke highly of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and stressed the importance of the achievement of the 50% cut in strategic offensive arms. He expressed support for the line of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. The Libyan revolutionary leader noted that the Palestinian people's uprising in the occupied territories confirms the need to step up international efforts in aid of a solution to the Palestinian problem [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian in its 27 January, Morning Edition, on page 4 carries a TASS report under the general heading "On Libyan Soil", datelined 26 January, adds at this point: ...on the basis of the implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. M. al-Qadhdhafi advocated the further development of friendly Soviet-Libyan relations. He spoke highly of the process of restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and pointed out that it is of great significance for many countries in the world.]

V.P. Polyakov also held political consultations with M. Madi and D. Suwaydan, members of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison.

Lebedev Advocates Developing Saudi Relations

*LD271427 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT
27 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—TASS Commentator Viktor Lebedev writes:

According to reports coming from diplomatic sources, Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, minister of foreign affairs of Saudi Arabia, arrives in the USSR tomorrow, on January 28, for a two-day visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Historically the Soviet state and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are about of the same age. Diplomatic relations were established by them in 1926. However, after 1939 they stopped developing. And still, contacts between the USSR and Saudi Arabia are rather regular, which is evidence of the existence of common interests of the two countries, as well as problems that could be resolved by joint efforts. They show as well that the USSR and Saudi Arabia understand and recognize the important part each of them plays in the modern world on the global and regional scope.

Shaykh Hisham Muhyi al-Din Nazir, minister of oil and mineral resources of Saudi Arabia, visited this country last January. He met understanding and support in the Soviet Union during the discussion of political and economic problems.

A little over two years ago Prince Faysal ibn Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz visited Moscow as head of a sports delegation. During his visit he discussed with Soviet officials problems connected with bilateral cooperation in sports. Concrete spheres of joint actions were mapped out.

However, cooperation between the USSR and Saudi Arabia has not been actually started yet. Perhaps, it is not easy to start practical cooperation after a 50-year break in diplomatic exchanges. There are forces inside and especially outside the country which would like Saudi Arabia to continue to be isolated from the USSR. Absurd inventions about the ideological incompatibility between the social systems of the USSR and Saudi Arabia are being spread, although the USSR is maintaining today good relations with a number of Muslim and monarchical governments.

The problem of whether to maintain relations with the USSR or not is being positively resolved by countries of the Arabian Peninsula. Soviet-Kuwaiti relations are developing actively. The embassies of the USSR in Abu Dhabi and of the United Arab Emirates in Moscow

started functioning recently. Formalities connected with the establishment of diplomatic exchange between the USSR and the Sultanate of Oman are coming to a close.

All the above mentioned countries, as well as Saudi Arabia, are members of the Cooperation Council for the Arab states of the Gulf which is playing an ever more important part in Arab affairs. Stands of the USSR and the Council's member states on the Middle East problem, on the need to put an end to the Iranian-Iraqi war and to ensure the safety of navigation in the Persian Gulf are close or identical.

Saudi officials expressed appreciation on many occasions of a firm and principled policy of the USSR in the Arab region. Sa'ud al-Faysal, 46, who became minister of foreign affairs in 1975, recognizes in his statements for the press the important role played by the USSR in world affairs and points out the gratitude of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Soviet Union for its positive policy in the Middle East.

There is no doubt that the development of relations between the USSR and Saudi Arabia would be advantageous to both countries.

PDRY Planning Minister Talks with CEMA Official

LD201556 Aden ANA in Arabic 1310 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—Questions relating to multilateral cooperation between the PDRY and the CEMA countries have been discussed at the CEMA headquarters in Moscow. This took place yesterday when Comrade Dr Faraj ibn Ghanim, the minister of planning, met Comrade Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary of the CEMA Council.

ANA's correspondent in Moscow said that the discussion concerned methods of implementing the agreed projects defined in the protocol of the first meeting of the joint committee between our country and the CEMA held in Aden in May 1987. There was also a discussion on the results of the experts meeting within the framework of cooperation between our country and the CEMA, which was held at the beginning of this month.

The meeting was attended by Comrade Najib 'Abd al-Rahman Qaddar, the PDRY representative to the CEMA, and Comrade Asetshuk, [name as received] deputy minister of foreign trade.

PDRY Economic Session Ends; Protocol Signed

*LD210228 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2232 GMT 20 Jan 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The 6th session of the Permanent Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the PDRY has concluded its work. In the course of the session, which proceeded in a spirit of

friendship and mutual understanding, the sides examined the prospects for Soviet-Yemeni economic cooperation. The signing of a protocol of the 6th session of the permanent Soviet-Yemeni commission took place. At the same time, a protocol on trade turnover between the two countries for 1988 was signed.

U.S., Pakistan Place 'Obstacles' to Afghan Peace
PM271047 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Political Observer V. Vinogradov article: "Those Who Are Placing 'Obstacles' in Afghanistan's Way"]

[Text] Islamabad can surely breathe more easily now, which can hardly be said of the capitals in Pakistan's neighbor states. This is because President Reagan has signed a document which enables the United States to continue giving military aid to the Ziaul Haq regime. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the president's message to the U.S. Congress "clears the way" for the allocation of \$480 million of U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan in the current fiscal year.

It is well known that the Congress had already approved this aid but was prevented from giving it by the "Symington amendment," adopted back in 1976, which prohibits the United States from giving military aid to any state which is working on the creation of nuclear weapons. In Pakistan's case its nuclear research provided more than enough evidence of that. That fact, incidentally, is confirmed by U.S. intelligence's own information. Citing comments by high-ranking intelligence staffers, UPI reported in November last year that Pakistan "definitely possesses real nuclear devices."

But the guarantee given by the head of the White House, who stated in his message that Pakistan "does not possess" a nuclear bomb, gave the administration an opportunity to circumvent the "ill-fated" amendment. I must stress here that the present \$480 million is only part of the new U.S. aid program to Islamabad, which amounts to \$4.02 billion over the next 6 years. The bulk of this astronomical sum will be spent on supplies of the latest U.S. military hardware.

A point must be made here. The Soviet Government's decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan within 12 months and the national reconciliation program put forward by the Afghan Government create favorable conditions for a political settlement of the Afghan problem. However, the efforts of these two countries' governments are not enough. This question can only be resolved by ending foreign interference, which includes the supply of weapons to the Afghan dushmans.

The events of recent days show for all to see, however, that the U.S. position is completely different. You just have to think of the urgent visits to Islamabad recently by two Washington envoys—M. Armacost, under secretary of state for political affairs, and R. Armitage,

assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs. Their visits confirmed that the United States is noticeably stepping up the pressure on Pakistan not to reach an agreement with Kabul at the indirect talks being held under the auspices of the United Nations. Undoubtedly the U.S. aim is to force the Islamabad regime to maintain its old policy of support for the Afghan counterrevolution. That is demonstrated by a statement by Secretary of State Shultz at a recent press conference in Washington. It emerged from his comments that U.S. support for the Afghan counterrevolution can only end when the limited contingent of Soviet troops is completely withdrawn from Afghanistan and the United States is "satisfied" with the terms of the settlement achieved in the country.

As we can see, despite the goodwill of the USSR and Afghan Governments the enemies of the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan are continuing to place obstacles in its way.

Pakistan's Junejo Meets UN's Cordovez
LD220911 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT
22 Jan 88

[Text] Islamabad January 22 (TASS)—Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. secretary general who is staying here, met Thursday with Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo of Pakistan and had a conversation with him. They discussed the most important aspects of the Afghan problem. Special attention was devoted to the items of the draft Afghan-Pakistani agreement that had not been coordinated so far, the schedule of the return home of the limited Soviet military contingent, measures for the disengagement of the warring parties and for control over the observance of the agreement.

Before conferring with the Pakistani prime minister, Cordovez held talks dealing with the draft Afghan-Pakistani agreement on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan with Zain Noorani, Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs.

Pakistani Says U.S., Pakistan Guilty of Terrorism
LD251101 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT
25 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 25 TASS—The Governments of Pakistan and the United States are guilty of terrorist actions against the Afghan people, stated 'Abdul Wali Khan, chairman of the People's National Party of Pakistan.

Speaking at a mass meeting in Peshawar, he emphasized that the explosions on the parking lot in Jalalabad during the funeral of 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the national leader of the Pashtuns, were part and parcel of plans aimed at

frustrating the process of settling the Afghanistan situation. 'Abdul Wali Khan condemned the criminal actions in Jalalabad the aim of which was to undermine centuries-old Pashtun traditions.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports that following the meeting a demonstration took place in Peshawar in protest against the policy of imperialist and reactionary circles that fan up the undeclared war against Afghanistan. According to reports reaching here, the situation in the city remains tense. Pakistani police have blocked all Afghan refugee camps near Peshawar and detain all cars belonging to them in an attempt to prevent new actions against the policy of the Islamabad regime and the arbitrariness of Afghan extremists.

Commenting on the blasts in Jalalabad, BAKHTAR points out that they became another confirmation of the criminal nature of the counterrevolution. This time bandits did not even stop short of sacrilege with regard to the remains of the greatest of Pashtuns, the commentary says.

Najibullah Addresses Khowst Troops in Kabul
LD182156 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 18 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A parade of troops which participated in the crushing defeat of counterrevolutionary formations and the lifting of blockade in the Khowst district was held in Kabul today.

[M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] This parade can justifiably be called a field parade. The troops participating in it have only just come from the fighting, have completed a multi-kilometer march to Kabul from Paktia Province and Khowst District. Fighting units and subdivisions are represented here only symbolically, of course—the main forces still remain, as before, protecting the road to Khowst, because the counterrevolutionary leaders have not yet given up. It has been reported from Peshawar that a public execution took place there of nine commanders of groups who refused to continue to fight in Afghanistan. This cruel terror is also proof of the counterrevolution's defeat.

The great military and political importance of the victory at Khowst was stressed by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, in his address. A large, well-trained and -armed grouping, consisting also of scores of foreign instructors, subdivisions of mercenaries from Pakistan and some Arab countries, was defeated. In the base rayons of Sarna and Shwak alone, more than 100 storage places, tens of thousands of rocket-propelled grenades, millions of cartridges, and weapons of various kinds and designation were destroyed.

The most outstanding Afghan servicemen from the fighting were awarded orders and medals. Six of them received the title Hero of the Republic of Afghanistan. Undoubtedly, there are still many difficult unsolved problems in the Afghan army and in the country as a whole. However, the recent military successes show that it is becoming more and more a force which is able to resist aggression, to defend the freedom and independence of the republic, and this is one of the most important prerequisites for the earliest return home of the Soviet military contingent. [video shows military parade, Najibullah addressing the meeting, presenting awards, armored vehicles being watched by gathered people]

Afghan Rebel Leaders Pardoned Under Amnesty
LD270927 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT
27 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 27 TASS—A decree published in Kabul amnesties the leaders of several anti-government groups, who were sentenced to death in absentia about 18 months ago, BAKHTAR has reported.

The amnestied include Ahmad Shah Masud, Jalaluddin Haqanis, Abdul Sabur, Mohammad Panah, Mohammad Ismail and Saleh Mohammad.

Weekly Carries 'Political Portrait' of Khomeyni
PM270840 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian
13 Jan 88 p 14

[Igor Belyayev article: "Khomeyni: A Political Portrait"]

[Text] Some people call him the "excellent keeper of the faith," others the "humiliator of Satan," and many the "one hope of the deprived." Iranian Shi'ites revere him as the "regent of the wandering imam," "his holiness, may Allah preserve his life forever," and so on, and so forth...

In 1979 he drew the attention of the whole world. The American weekly TIME declared him the "Man of the Year"—an individual who, the weekly's editors declared, had changed the nature of the news. For better or for worse. As leader of the Iranian revolution, they reasoned, he taught the 20th century a terrifying lesson, shattering the power of the irrational (that is the rather strange word by which our friends the editors acknowledged, in veiled terms, the doomed nature of the shah's regime in Iran!) with the ease with which terrorism could become government policy...

His name is Seyyed Hajji Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni. He is 85. He is one of the great ayatollahs, the supreme Muslim hierarchs in Iran, acknowledged head of the Iranian Shi'ites, Velayat-e Faqih—spiritual ruler of the country, which he became after the collapse of the shah's regime in February 1979....

Khomeyni comes from the small town of Khomeyn, which is in central Iran. His full name includes a very important detail. Important to the initiated, and important for everyone else to understand his present position. He is Seyyed Musavi, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, founder of Islam. True, not in the direct line, but in an indirect line from Musa ibn Ja'far, 7th of the 12 imams revered by the Shi'ites.

Here at least a few words should be said about Shi'ism and the Shi'ites. They are a minority within Islam. The majority is made up of the Sunnis, the followers of Sunnism, the orthodox branch of Islam. In our day the main bulk of Shi'ites are Iranians, Iraqi Arabs, and Yemenis. Shi'ites live in other countries too. The followers of the main current within Shi'ism acknowledge the 12 imams (hence their name—the "Twelvers"). The first imam was the fourth, "just" Caliph 'Ali. He is regarded as the originator of the split in Islam ("shi'a," in Arabic, means a group). His followers fought for power in the caliphate after the death of the prophet. That is why they called 'Ali the "just" caliph...

He was the prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and therefore, his supporters believed, he had the paramount right to supreme power—spiritual and worldly—over all Muslims. After 'Ali's death that power should have gone to his descendants. But 'Ali's sons received no power. His second son, Husayn, was killed by a hired killer in the course of an attempt to raise a rebellion against the Umayyad caliph in Baghdad. His detachment was also annihilated by the supporters of the caliphal ruler.

The Shi'ite faithful eagerly honor Husayn as a great martyr. The city of Karbala in present-day Iraq, where he was killed, became a place of pilgrimage for them. Another Shi'ite holy city is Najaf. The Shi'ites believe that here 'Ali's grave was miraculously preserved, and they come here to weep and pray in the mosque built supposedly on the site of the caliph's burial. In reality, as the outstanding Soviet student of Islam Ye.A. Belyayev (my teacher and namesake—I.B.) wrote, even in the Middle Ages it was impossible to establish the location of the caliph's grave.

'Ali's kin formed a dynasty of Shi'ite imams who, having no political power, were regarded solely as spiritual leaders of the Shi'ite community. 'Ali himself is regarded as the 1st imam, and the 12th and last was Muhammad. He disappeared without trace at the end of the 9th century; probably he too was killed by an agent of the Baghdad caliph. That event provided the basis for the myth of the "hidden imam." Shi'ite ideologists and theologians claim that the imam did not die, but was hidden by Allah in some unattainable place. There he will remain until the time when Allah will send him to the Shi'ites to establish a perfect system of justice and equality and create paradise on earth. This, in fact, is the origin of the title "regent of the wandering imam!"

(Footnote) (On the Shi'ites and Shi'ism, see: Ye.A. Belyayev, "Muslim Sectarianism" ["Musulmanskiye Sektantstvo"], Oriental Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1957).

Khomeyni's father was killed before Khomeyni was 6 months old. He died in a fight with the men of the landowner 'Abdollah Heshmat, who had laid claim to his land and who was a close friend of Colonel Reza Khan—the man who, in 1925, became shah of Iran and founded the new Pahlavi dynasty. An army general at the time, he put on the crown of the "king of kings." The Shi'ite clergy resolutely opposed his attempt to declare Iran a lay republic. In the conviction of the Shi'ite hierarchs, the country should have either spiritual rule, or a monarchy under the control of the clergy.

The mother's behest to the future ayatollah was brief—"Vengeance!". For his father's death. Here it should be noted that among the Shi'ites, the behests of parents are highly honored. Everything really crucial is entrusted only to blood relatives. Fulfilling the will of the closest relatives—your parents—is deemed honorable....

At school Khomeyni was the most assiduous of pupils. He was the teacher's favorite. He excelled particularly in writing and composition. Relatively early, he showed an interest in the works of the great poet Hafiz of Shiraz. In his heart, Khomeyni dreamed of becoming a poet himself. When he left school, he was already writing ghazels. Being well aware that the spiritual hierarchs of Iran, whose circle Khomeyni had already decided to enter—there are no great deeds without a great goal!—are extremely disapproving of poetry, he carefully concealed his love of poetry. It was only in 1979, after his return to Tehran from France, when he had become the country's spiritual ruler, that he allowed himself to publish a book of poetry. By then, he no longer needed to look over his shoulder at anyone...

After leaving school he set off for the small city of Arak, where he studied theology, purposefully preparing himself for the fulfillment of a special, supreme spiritual mission, the mission which was the ultimate goal of his entire life. And the future ayatollah never doubted that he would fulfill that mission....

In his youth, nothing human was foreign to him. He played football, for instance. Yes, just imagine, although it is rather difficult to picture it now. The ayatollah himself, if he recalls it, does so only within a close family circle.

After studying in Arak, in 1920 he moved to Qom. At that time the city was only just beginning to gain prestige as the center of Shi'ite theology in Iran. In Qom, Khomeyni devoted particular attention to Muslim law and astrology and improved his Arabic—"the language of the

noble Koran." And Sufism—Shi'ite mysticism. Naturally without making that interest public, either. Even then, the future ayatollah was scrupulously taking into account the comparatively widespread mysticism among the people.

After completing his studies he became a religious teacher. In Qom he had his first pupils, or "talabeh" (in Farsi). By that time Khomeyni had funds which enabled him to pay grants to his students and particularly zealous followers. And the future ayatollah felt instinctively "who was who" from questions and answers and from sermons that differed from his interpretations of events. There he noticed Hoseyn 'Ali Montazeri. Yes, his official successor today. Also, incidentally, a Seyyed Musavi. He never allowed himself to contradict his spiritual mentor, who was rapidly gaining strength...

In 1929 Khomeyni married the 11-year-old Batul, daughter of the influential Ayatollah Saqafi, thereby, naturally, consolidating his position among the Qom hierarchs. It is not forbidden in Shi'ite doctrine to have families. Khomeyni is a father of five—two sons and three daughters. He has 12 grandchildren. In the rare hours he spends with them, the smile never leaves his face, although in life he prefers seriousness above anything. Khomeyni is convinced that people in Iran should know him from the portraits that are everywhere, in which he is depicted showing concentrated anger. In Tehran, where, after his return from France, portraits of a smiling velayat-e faqih appeared, a lightning operation was carried out to remove them... Khomeyni's elder son Mostafa was killed in 1977 by agents of the shah's security service (SAVAK). Once again he remembered his mother's behest—"Vengeance!" A sharp condemnation of the agrarian reform then under way in Iran, and especially of the emancipation of women, then poured from the ayatollah's lips. Carrying out these reforms, according to Khomeyni, is like "pouring clean water down the latrine—a complete waste." Any social reforms, especially those that encroach on the Shi'ite clergy, are dangerous diseases. The cure for all of them is the same—Islam....

The enraged Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, son of Reza Shah, more than once decided to deal with Khomeyni. The ayatollah's speeches were becoming increasingly dangerous. He stubbornly consigned the shah to perdition. First because his majesty tried to subject the mullahs and the Shi'ite clergy to repressions, and then for guaranteeing extraterritoriality to the American military in Iran. A real danger of physical annihilation hung over him. The shah could go to extremes. But there was one unlikely development in their fateful duel that the shah did not foresee, although he considered himself practically a seer.

Realizing that the rebellious Khomeyni could be threatened with execution, the great ayatollahs met at his house in Qom and admitted him to their circle. He too became a great ayatollah and attained his first great goal.

At the age of 60. And, to the shah's amazement, he thereby avoided death. Because the monarch could not, simply did not have the right to, punish the great ayatollahs. Whatever activity they engaged in. They were outside the shah's jurisdiction. Then, instead of executing Khomeyni, they sent him into exile, hoping that the exile would be remote and permanent. In April 1964, having been arrested back in June 1963 for sharp attacks on the shah, Khomeyni was released from custody. From then on he was the acknowledged leader of the opposition to the shah. On 2 November 1964 the ayatollah delivered his famous anti-American speech, which was the last straw for Mohammad Reza. Then the exile option was decided on. The great ayatollah was sent first to Izmir (Turkey), and then to Najaf, and from there he continued with renewed force the struggle against Mohammad Reza, son of Reza Shah, patron of his father's killer....

In our understanding, a mullah is only one of many representatives of the Muslim clergy. If he is imam of a mosque ("imam," translated from the Arabic, means "he who stands before"), his task is, first and foremost, to fulfill the sacred laws defined by the Koran, laws which already exist. And to help all the faithful to do the same. Khomeyni does not regard a mullah as purely a priest. According to the ayatollah's speeches, he must be ready to fulfill new functions. Therefore the mullah must free his life from all vanities that would prevent him from fulfilling his duties.

In 1962 Khomeyni retired into himself and formulated in precise terms his concept of power. Muslim society is a sick society, he now said, and only surgical intervention will save it from inevitable, ignominious death. It was then that he recalled the words of the poet: "People's fear of death is a sickness for which only faith promises a cure." Khomeyni rejected poetry and stopped engaging in mysticism. He formulated a clear plan for achieving his great goal. Its implementation was to be furthered by his popularity among ordinary Iranians...

The ayatollah's great goal was, specifically, to overthrow the shah and return to Iran as its spiritual ruler. To fulfill the plan he decided to win over the ordinary people and gain unquestioned authority among the "mostaz'afin", as the deprived are called in Farsi. He simplified his spoken language, reducing his vocabulary to 2,000 words. His speeches and messages, recorded on cassettes, became comprehensible even to the illiterate. He addressed an audience of many millions with carefully rehearsed prayers. Down with nuances. From now on, everything he spoke about was divided solely into "black" and "white." Down with neutrality. The masses whom he was to educate must only take his side. Or else become, as he himself put it, "enemies of Islam"...

Khomeyni consistently preached that the struggle against the Devil should be led only by mullahs (no politicians, either right or left!). Not only in order to overthrow the shah, but also to establish Islamic rule in

Iran, which would be the first step toward the great goal. The second step is worldwide Islamic revolution. His main weapon was xenophobia. Cries of "Death to foreigners!" and "Death to Americans!" generated the popular assertion that all foreigners are members of a conspiracy against Islam. Life showed that his gamble on the obvious—the overthrow of the shah's regime and promises to give Mohammad Reza's wealth back to the people—yielded enormous political dividends. For him and for the Shi'ite clergy.... Constantly rehearsing, Khomeyni produced marvelously effective magical verbal formulas that hit home. People divided themselves into friends and enemies. And only the mullahs could be the true leaders of the movement against the Devil....

Khomeyni was never a charismatic figure. His remarkably flat voice, devoid of all nuances, was never affected by emotion, either positive or negative. Even in his prayers. Some of them sounded like orders: "The highest honor is to die for Islam"; "You must pray to Allah to give you the honor of becoming a martyr." Later, during the Iran-Iraq war, Khomeyni said that "the death of children in Allah's service ensures that they go straight to paradise."

Imagine Khomeyni pronouncing those words in his quiet, moderated voice, while terrible scenes unroll before your eyes. Volunteer boys aged 12 and upwards storm Iraqi army positions. They die, and die, and die. The fetva, the supreme dispensation, for children to go to the front without their parents' permission was given by Khomeyni....

The boys believe that by becoming "children of the imam," as the faqih is now called, and dying in the Iran-Iraq war, which is now in its 8th year, they will secure a place in paradise. Every one of them, setting off for the front, receives a plastic key to paradise and a red headband. On it are the words—"Long live Khomeyni!"

On coming to power, the faqih declared the struggle against America "holy." Verbally. In 1985, Khomeyni consented to secret contacts with the Americans. In order to obtain from "Satanic" America weapons and military equipment. The contacts continue....

Khomeyni is the enemy of Israel. Verbally. In 5 years of the Iran-Iraq war, also with his knowledge, Israel supplied Iran with 5 billion dollars' worth of weapons. Last August Ahmad, son of the great ayatollah, conducted talks in Geneva with the Americans and Israelis on problems of common interest....

Khomeyni went into politics appealing to the moral side. That is his irresistible strength. Calling the faithful to fulfill their moral duty is his strongest point. In time, he began to see political problems in an Islamic setting. And that is his advantage over all other religious preachers. For them, prayers are words; for him, they are a call for action and leadership in action. And not a call for the sake of words, but a call for the sake of action. And since

1963 Khomeyni has been gradually scoring points. In the struggle against the shah he won round after round. First and foremost because he put forward popular demands and slogans that appealed to the people's hearts.

Khomeyni, the fearless Khomeyni, remembered that at a critical time the great ayatollahs protected his life. But he astounded them with his political moves calculated to overthrow the shah and establish his own absolute power. When he returned to Tehran on 1 February 1979 hardly anyone had a shadow of a doubt that the one they were waiting for had come—the velayat-e faqih. But this was not true of everyone. Khomeyni now considered himself the arbiter of the life even of the great ayatollahs. During his rule two of his opponents—Mahmud Taleghani and Shari'at-Madari—have departed for a better world....

Khomeyni is an ascetic. His daily needs are amazingly simple. He prefers dairy food. He is particularly fond of yoghurt. He adores rice pudding. Since leaving school in Khomeyn he has slept on the floor. He strictly observes, without exception, all the prohibitions he has placed on himself, which, he believes, has made his life similar to the prophet Muhammad's life.

Until recently Khomeyni used to get up an hour before dawn. He read the Koran until prayers. After a light breakfast he would receive visitors for an hour. Not politicians, but people who came to him with their troubles. Local officials, and even journalists, including foreign journalists, though not Soviet ones....

The midday prayers, then a modest lunch and a short nap.

In the afternoon, it is reports from the ministers: of internal and foreign affairs and defense. Khomeyni prefers the radio to the television. As a rule the broadcast runs straight through—from beginning to end! At one time he always used to go for a walk in the evenings. Now in the evening he either writes or engages in endless talk. About what he has heard and read....

Three hours after sunset Khomeyni goes to his personal mosque. Then dinner. And off to bed....

Khomeyni trusts only a few people, above all his surviving son Ahmad. The ayatollah's entourage call him the "black box" of the velayat-e faqih....

He moves slowly and never hurries. When he gets up, he leans his left hand on the floor. His first step in the morning is taken with his left foot. He enters the mosque or school (religious) with his right foot.

In giving precepts to the faithful he has often come out in favor of a struggle against music. In his words, music leads young people astray. Like opium, it dulls the mind.

Speaking in Qom, Khomeyni taught: "Allah did not make man so that man could amuse himself, but so as to subject mankind to the test of suffering and prayer. An Islamic regime should show seriousness in every sphere. Islam does not brook jokes, or humor, or entertainment. Serious matters are no subject for laughter or merriment. Islam does not allow sea bathing, although it allows shooting, riding, and contests."

Khomeyni has not read books on political economy. Neither economic nor social problems concern him. Nor has he ever taken an interest in books on international relations. He is against democracy! He is above the people! He is the great arbiter given by Allah....

Khomeyni is a spiritual ruler, a faqih. He rises above all power in Iran and determines what is in accordance with Islam and what is contrary to it.

Khomeyni made the hajj to Mecca back in 1937. There he carefully fulfilled everything prescribed for pilgrims, knowing that they are forbidden to cut their hair, shave, raise their voice at anyone, carry weapons, or lift a hand even against a fly. On 31 July 1987 on his orders, armed Iranian pilgrims—154,000 among 2 million people—held a political demonstration in Mecca. In clashes with the Saudi police 402 people died, 275 of them Iranians. They wanted to show that Saudi Arabian power is not capable of keeping order in Islam's holy places. And therefore down with King Fahd and the Sa'ud ruling dynasty. The Iranian challenge to Arab nationalism became a fact, or, more accurately, another fact against the background of the continuing Iran-Iraq war....

What is Khomeyni's dream? A victory for Islamic revolution throughout the Muslim world. From Morocco in the west to Indonesia in the east. The spiritual ruler of Iran regards those countries as "not Islamic," and therefore they must "pass away." After the triumph of the Islamic revolution throughout the world Khomeyni intends to create a single Muslim state. It will be one of the mightiest in the modern world, in opposition to the two "Satanic" superpowers—the Soviet Union and America. And if necessary (!), the "imam's martyrs"—"ente'hari" (in Farsi)—will blow them up from within....

In 1985 Khomeyni believed he was on the threshold of his universal victory....

In December 1987, rewriting his political testament (in it Khomeyni affirmed that his successor will still be Ayatollah Hoseyn 'Ali Montazeri, thus upsetting the plans of his opponents in other centers of power), he reaffirmed his determination. The war against Iraq must continue, and the Islamic revolution should be pursued on a global scale until the total eradication of all "evil." Rumors of Khomeyni's poor health were not confirmed....

Gandhi Cables Greetings to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov
LD241310 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT
24 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—Enroute from Stockholm to New Delhi, Rajiv Gandhi sent a telegram from aboard the plane to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The telegram says, in part, that in their Stockholm Declaration the Delhi Six enthusiastically welcomed the historic treaty on eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons as a first step which should lead to global disarmament. We know your personal commitment to this goal, the telegram says.

Dobrynin, Gandhi Envoy Hold 'Friendly' Talks
LD241626 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT
24 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met Gopi Arora, special representative of the Indian prime minister and secretary of the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, who arrived in Moscow. During a friendly talk the sides discussed some aspects of current international politics and questions concerning the development of Soviet-Indian relations.

Gopi Arora shared his impressions on the Stockholm meeting of the leaders of "the Initiative of the Six for Peace and Disarmament," which had examined the results of the Soviet-American summit and tasks facing this movement after the signing of the INF treaty.

Vorontsov Meets Envoy
PM271039 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception"]

[Text] G. Arora, special representative of the prime minister and secretary of the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, arrived in Moscow 23 January.

He was received that day by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. During the conversation, which was held in the friendly atmosphere typical of Soviet-Indian meetings, there was an exchange of opinions on a number of key international problems and questions of Soviet-Indian cooperation.

Orlov, Other Officials Mark Indian Anniversary
PM270905 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Anniversary Marked"]

[Excerpts] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the Moscow public marking the 38th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of India was held in the House of the Unions on 25 January. [passage omitted]

V.P. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and leaders of a number of ministries and departments took part in the meeting.
Briefs

Bangladesh News Agency Agreement

Dhaka January 18 TASS—An agreement on an exchange of information between the news agency of the Soviet Union and the Bangladesh News Agency SANGBAD SANGASTHA (BSS) was signed here today. Guided by the striving for the development of cooperation and friendship between the USSR and Bangladesh, the news agencies have agreed on professional cooperation. TASS will render BSS assistance in training specialists. The document has been signed from the Soviet side—by Ambassador of the USSR in Bangladesh Vladimir Bel'yayev, from the Bangladesh side—the BSS editor-in-chief and managing director Mahbubul Alam. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 18 Jan 88 LD]*

Afghan Gas Contract

Kabul, 26 Jan (TASS)—A contract has been signed here between "Soyuzgazekспорт," the all-union financially autonomous foreign trade association, and the Republic of Afghanistan's Ministry of Mines and Industries. The document provides for deliveries to Afghanistan of Soviet natural gas. When signing the contract, Soviet and Afghan representatives expressed the conviction business links should be deepened. It was stressed that cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of developing the gas fields of Afghanistan would be expanded. [Text] *[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0803 GMT 26 Jan 88 LD]*

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ryuytel Delegation Leaves for Ghana, Cape Verde
LD250711 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT
25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Arnold Ryuytel, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow today.

The delegation is to pay official visits to the Republic of Ghana and the Republic of Cabo Verde [Cape Verde].

Arrives in Ghana

LD262054 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] A group of Soviet MPS led by Vice President [as heard] Arnold Ryuytel has arrived in Ghana. The visit is timed to the 30th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

As Arnold Ryuytel said at a news conference in Accra, Soviet-Ghanaian contacts have acquired a qualitatively new nature in recent years. The two countries are fruitfully developing relations in the political, economic, and other spheres.

Meets With Ghanaian Official

LD271028 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0640 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Accra, 27 Jan (TASS)—Daniel Annan, member of the Provisional National Defense Council of Ghana, on Tuesday received a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, led by A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is on an official visit here.

Annan highly appraised the USSR's efforts directed at eliminating the threat of a thermonuclear disaster. He called the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles "a great success for the USSR's peace-loving policy".

D. Annan appraised Soviet-Ghanaian relations as positive and spoke in favor of further development of ties between the two countries.

CPSU, Cape Verde Party Sign Cooperation Plan
PM270909 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plan Signed"]

[Text] Praia, 25 Jan—The 1988-1990 plan for party ties between the CPSU and the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) has been signed in the Cape Verdian capital. It envisages the further expansion of interparty cooperation, the exchange of delegations and work experience, and the provision of assistance to the republic in training party cadres.

Coup Conspiracy Uncovered in Gambia
LD261037 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] London January 26 TASS—The police of the Republic of Gambia has uncovered a conspiracy to overthrow the government of this small West African state. REUTERS reported from Banjul.

According to information from official sources, several persons involved in masterminding the coup were arrested. Among the detainees are customs officials suspected of assistance to the illegal introduction in Gambia of weapons and military equipment and also an official of the immigration service.

Important documents revealing the details of the plotters' plans were confiscated from the arrested. Government spokesmen refused to report additional information on the grounds that this can hamper further investigation.

Burundi Ambassador Arrives in Moscow

PM271441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Arrival of Ambassador"]

[Text] Ildephonse Nkeramihigo, Burundian ambassador to the USSR, arrived in Moscow 25 January.

East Europe

Leadership Sends Ceausescu Birthday Greetings

PM261547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1

[CPSU, Supreme Soviet Presidium Birthday Greetings to Ceausescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of Romania

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu!

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium congratulate you, a prominent figure of the international communist and workers movement and a party and state leader who has headed the RCP and fraternal socialist Romania for over 20 years now, on your 70th birthday.

The Soviet Union knows well the great significance which you attach to the development of Soviet-Romanian cooperation and is convinced the fundamental interests of our two peoples are served by the further all-around deepening of Soviet-Romanian ties in all spheres—politics, economics, science, and culture. We value Soviet-Romanian collaboration in international affairs.

We wish you good health and successes in your responsible activity in the interests of Romania's confident progress along the path of socialism and the consolidation of Soviet-Romanian relations and friendship and cooperation among all socialist countries.

The CPSU Central Committee,

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Petrovskiy, CSSR's Chnoupek Discuss Diplomacy

LD222316 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT
22 Jan 88

[Text] Prague January 22 TASS—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today received USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy now staying in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak news agency CTK reports that a wide range of questions connected with multilateral diplomacy and work of international organizations was discussed during the conversation that ensued. In this connection Bohuslav Chnoupek highly assessed the Soviet Union's vanguard role in implementing the principles of new political thinking, which is in keeping with the realities of the space age and declared for the need for the further deepening of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

Curbing Inflation SFRY's 'Prime Need'

PM261441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov "Letter From Yugoslavia": "Spiraling Inflation"]

[Text] Belgrade—Every day with striking frankness people write articles in central and provincial newspapers and hold discussions on television "roundtables" about what is now taking place in Yugoslavia's socioeconomic and, of course, political life.

To put in a nutshell the negative phenomena corroding the country's economy, they boil down to unprecedented inflation, an enormous foreign debt,—almost \$19 billion—1 million unemployed, personal consumption which is increasingly outstripping production and labor productivity, growing disproportions in the economy, and the deepening social stratification of society...

Why are "private operators" growing rich while one in three major self-managing united labor organizations (that is, the public sector of the economy) is finishing the fiscal year with losses, which by no means improves the life of working people. In both cases the masters are in charge of the production and sale of output.... What's the problem?

Things are more or less clear with "private operators." They "rectify" the public sector's miscalculations and errors extremely profitably. A "private operator" cannot be a large-scale manufacturer here (the law restricts him in this respect) but he can use hired labor and does not balk at speculative machinations, notably currency speculation because of the lack of state currency control. In short, the number of homegrown millionaires is by no means decreasing....

Matters are more complex regarding the public sector, that is industrial, agricultural, and other enterprises functioning under conditions of socialist self-management, self-financing, free election of leaders, and so on. I

visited both prosperous enterprises and enterprises that barely scrape by. Of course, the first conclusion which suggests itself is that matters depend to a significant extent on the personality of the director, the competence of the worker council that manages the enterprise, the collective's unity and clear understanding of the tasks facing the production unit, and the awareness that under present conditions it is necessary not only to work conscientiously but also to be able to survive in conditions of ever-increasing domestic and foreign competition.

Incidentally, it is striking that the staffs of large and medium enterprises' foreign trade subunits are extremely large. Is this not excessive? No, the directors with whom I talked replied, it is not excessive. We need skilled cadres of foreign trade workers. They do not sit idle. We ruthlessly get rid of those who over a certain period of time have concluded with foreign companies no concrete deals of benefit to the firm.

So let us continue: profitable and unprofitable enterprises. At the first type of enterprise there is constant labor productivity growth, a tireless quest for advantageous foreign partners, excellent knowledge of foreign market conditions, the most active policy of thrift, and ruthless cutbacks in the management apparatus and administrative expenditure. You practically never see a chauffeured car. All managers take the wheel themselves. You never encounter huge accounts offices and financial planning departments—they have long since been replaced by computers operated by a few skilled engineers.

Everything is reversed at unprofitable enterprises. Declining productivity is compensated for by a wage increase at the expense of fixed capital, and losses are recouped by increasing the prices of manufactured output. Unprofitable enterprises.... According to data from the Federal Executive Council which I have to hand, their total losses for the past year amounted to approximately one-fourth of the net income of the entire Yugoslav economy.

What is to be done with unprofitable enterprises? Opinions differ. Some advocate ruthlessly eliminating them. But others retort that then the army of more than 1 million unemployed would grow even bigger.... Yugoslavia has no reserve production capacities or promising giant construction projects, for the country is small. Perhaps, a third group suggests, the private sector could be further developed using hired labor? But would this not be a convenient loophole for restoring capitalism?—a fourth group asks the by no means rhetorical question.

Along with mismanagement there are outright violations of the law. Last fall another "sensation" broke here. The prosperous Yugoslav Agrokomerac Association was ruined—in the literal sense of the word. The "model" association was unable to repay a promissory note which it had issued for a vast sum of money—almost 300 billion dinars. What were the reasons which led to the

financial catastrophe? Major economic miscalculations in management and flagrant violations of laws and statutes, a direct consequence of the chaos engendered by the unprecedented inflation...

The Yugoslavs were among the first to state that inflation is also possible under conditions of a socialist economy. People here call inflation "Enemy No 1." Last year, for the first time in the entire postwar period, the rise in inflation reached three figures.

According to Federal Statistics Administration data, last year, that is from December 1986 to December 1987, inflation rose by 168%. Low-income strata of the population are the first to suffer—pensioners, students, unskilled workers and employees.

What are the causes of the "spiraling inflation"? People have given different answers to these questions at different times. Certain quite competent experts have declared that the "blame" for inflation lies with labor collectives endeavoring to improve the indicators for their poor economic activity via high prices for output, or with state organs which have made errors in price formation policy... Clearly, the galloping inflation is caused by a complex of factors rooted in the existing practice of self-management. This thesis, incidentally, was voiced in no uncertain terms at the 13th LCY Congress, which advocated improving the political system for the economic mechanism's self-management.

However paradoxical it may sound, people think here that it is precisely broad decentralization at the federal level that has led to an intensification of... bureaucratism at the level of republics and autonomous provinces. It is no secret that decentralization has split Yugoslavia and transformed it into a number of independent, often self-contained islands increasingly marked by pure administration by decree on the part of administrative and economic organs, which think more about their local interests than about general Yugoslav interests....

The incumbent LCY leadership is taking extremely vigorous measures to somehow retard the rapid growth of inflation.

In mid-November last year emergency temporary measures were introduced to combat inflation with a view to stabilizing the economy. The press called these measures the "anti-inflation program." Within its framework practically all prices were frozen, while the prices of certain goods and services which were lower than was economically justifiable were simultaneously adjusted (upward). Thus the prices of electric power, railroad transportation, coal, and also bread, sugar, vegetable oil, and milk were considerably increased. At the same time the prices of industrial and agricultural output, which had grown on a purely speculative basis, were legislatively returned to the level of 1 October 1987. To

stimulate exports and curb inflation a one-shot 25% devaluation of the Yugoslav dinar was effected and wages outside material production were partially frozen.

Did the aforementioned measures produce any perceptible results? It is too early to say, for Yugoslav economists think the negative trends are still visible even to the naked eye.

According to unanimous Yugoslav public opinion, the prime need is to break the vicious circle of "spiraling inflation." For it is inflation which is the primary cause of all the key socioeconomic and political troubles. The anti-inflation measures envisaged by the "Long-Term Program for Economic Stabilization" adopted in 1983 were scarcely effective. Now a special government commission has been created and is working to provide new alternatives for overcoming stagnant phenomena in the country's economy and social life. Speaking at a recent SFRY Federal Assembly session, Branko Mikulic, Federal Council chairman, said that the key issue in any anti-inflation program and the stabilization of the economy as a whole is to impart dynamism to economic development. "Without restructuring of the economic structure," he stressed, "without efficient use of production capacities and an increase in labor productivity, and without rational expenditure of resources the battle against inflation cannot succeed."

Bulgarian Restructuring at 'Turning Point'
LD261231 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0830 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] A national party conference opens in the Bulgarian capital on 28 January. Our correspondent Anatoliy Naimushin reports from Sofia:

[Naimushin] On the agenda, as was decided at a BCP Central Committee plenum, is restructuring and the further building of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Comrade Todor Zhivkov will deliver the report. The (73,226) delegates have been elected to attend the party conference.

Bulgaria is now at a turning point. The search is under way for a new model of socialist society, to reveal its potential and its attractions. This is a link in the collective search, the creative work of the fraternal countries which is undergoing a period of renewal. Our Bulgarian friends take a great interest in restructuring in the USSR: Stress is being laid upon its historic role; its goals and orientations are described as being in keeping with the changes in the People's Republic of Bulgaria; and restructuring in the USSR is said to offer rich experience and to instill confidence.

The republic is on the right track. The national conference will map out the specific tasks of restructuring and a model for the future. The future is born in labor, in overcoming routine work and renunciation of old methods of management, and in liberating the efficiency and

energy of millions. Economic reform has begun, self-management is becoming established, and democratic relations are expanding, so labor collectives are expecting the national party conference to be a big political event.

A press center has started to operate. Over 150 foreign correspondents have gathered to report on the work of this party forum.

Poland's Szalajda Meets Maslyukov, Antonov
LD261615 Warsaw PAP in English 1512 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 26—Vice-Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Zbigniew Szalajda paid between January 25 and 26 a working visit to Moscow, where he held talks with Soviet Deputy Prime Ministers Yuriy Maslyukov and Aleksey Antonov.

The talks focused chiefly on economic, scientific, and technological cooperation.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Receives Swedish Environmental Minister
PM271249 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under headline "Minister Received"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 26 January received Birgitta Dahl, Sweden's minister of the environment and energy, who is in the Soviet Union on a visit.

During a discussion on questions of Soviet-Swedish relations, it was noted that as a result of the exchange of visits between the two countries at the level of heads of governments and of the talks held during these visits, bilateral relations in the political, economic, scientific, cultural, and other spheres has been enriched with useful experience and a new content.

The realization of the Murmansk initiatives, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev on 1 October 1987, opens up broad opportunities for deepening good-neighborly ties between the USSR and Sweden, both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of regional north European cooperation. The prospects for cooperation between the two countries in the area of energy and environmental protection were discussed from this angle.

Birgitta Dahl paid particular attention to these and other questions of strengthening mutually advantageous contacts between the two countries, including the supply of natural gas from the USSR to Sweden and the development of resource-saving technologies.

During the conversation, it was stressed that the USSR met with approval the declaration of the Group of Six, adopted on the results of its meeting in Stockholm on 21 January of this year. Also, it was noted that the ideas set out in it are to a large extent concordant with the USSR's ideas on ways of achieving lasting peace and greater security on our planet.

Nikolay Ryzhkov noted that the USSR shares the opinion of the authors of the Stockholm declaration that the projected conclusion of a treaty on a 50% reduction in the strategic arsenals of the USSR and the United States would be "a decisive step on the path toward the eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons." Of great importance are the firm utterance of the leaders of the six countries in favor of preventing an arms race in space and the strict observance of the ABM Treaty, in favor of the total and universal cessation of nuclear weapons tests, banning and elimination of chemical weapons, and reduction of conventional weapons. For its part, the USSR will consistently and urgently seek to achieve real results in all of these areas.

Participating in the talks were B.L. Tolstykh and B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.A. Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology; and also A. Thunborg, Swedish ambassador to the USSR.

Soviet-Finnish Business Ventures Viewed

*LD261605 Moscow International Service in Finnish
1530 GMT 11 Jan 88*

[From the "Friendship Panorama" feature]

[Text] [First announcer] This year, women's clothes manufactured by the joint Soviet-Finnish enterprises Est-Finn will go on sale in Estonia. This enterprise was established by a Tallinn clothing factory and the Kati-Myynti Company. The managing director of the joint venture, Arvi Sikk, stated that in his view there will be no difficulties with the work force at the new plant. The clothing factory's staff will include professional seamsters trained in the state's training schools. The Finnish side will provide 40 jobs. The annual capacity of the new company will be 600,000 products, though there may be some fluctuations. Production will be directed entirely by demand. Profits will be divided between the two sides on the basis of their investment. The Soviet side will get 51% from the enterprise and Finland, 49%.

[Second announcer] Is this company (?the only) joint venture in Estonia, we asked the managing director.

[First announcer] No, because previously Eke-Sadolin was established, specializing in producing varnishes, car paints, and other related products. On the Soviet side the participant is Estkolkhozstroy, an Estonian production plant which gets its work force straight from the kolchozes. The first supplies of paints from Eke-Sadolin have already found buyers on the Soviet market.

[Second announcer] Diet Deputies from Lapland and representatives of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation in Murmansk are participating in a Soviet-Finnish seminar on economic and cultural cooperation. The parties discussed extending economic and cultural relations and cooperation in environmental production in border areas. The Murmansk seminar also considered the realization of a large joint project. This concerns the overall exploitation of the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula. At the seminar, there was a proposal to organize on a regular basis such seminars of Diet Deputies, representatives of civic organizations and businessmen. The proposal was supported by all participants in this meeting.

[First announcer] In Espoo there have been negotiations on extending agricultural cooperation. The chairman of the Board of MTK [Central Union of Agricultural Producers], Heikki Haavisto, stated that our countries contacts in the field of agricultural and food production go back years. Technical cooperation in this field is yielding good results, he stressed. As a result of joint research, recommendations have been made for improving preservation of (?fertilizers). There is also good development in the fields of commercial fertilizers and plant protection substances. Agricultural machinery is also being built jointly, with some parts manufactured in Finland and some in the Soviet Union. Production of [word indistinct] and hydraulic cranes for tractors has been begun. Heikki Haavisto said in conclusion that supplies of Soviet agricultural machinery to Finland have increased.

[Second announcer] Vessels of a new type have been built for the Soviet river fleet, with liftable navigation bridges. The bridge can be lowered, and when the vessel moves (?into the sea it can be raised so that visibility is as good as possible. The Soviet Union has ordered such Hadoga) motor vessels from the Rauma-Repola shipyard in Uusikaupunki. They will be put into service this year. The new ship orders were announced at a press conference in Leningrad by Valentin Fomin, head of the Soviet northwestern shipyard.

The Soviet Union (?is offering) its clients the shipment of sea-river type cargo along the Saymenskiy Canal to Western Europe. The shipments will also increase along the waterways that join the Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas. This (?route) if shorter than going around Europe. Valentin Fomin said that the shipyard is renting its motor vessel 'Sergey Kirov' to Inturist. The clients can cruise on it on Lake Ladoga and through the [word indistinct] to visit Valaam Island and to Kizhi, which are famous for their Russian architectural attractions.

[First announcer] South of Moscow is the town of Kondrovo. In the near future, its residents might answer in the affirmative to the question 'Do you speak Finnish?' Soviet-Finnish relations are extending continually, and language skill is needed. Now language courses are operating in Kondrovo. Teaching is being done by Soviet

interpreters who are currently working in the town. Finnish experts and workers are helping the Soviet Union to the Kondrovo Paperworks.

[Second announcer] Those were brief news items about our countries' cooperation in recent days.

Finnish Manager Comments on Cable Cooperation
LD261630 Moscow International Service in Finnish
1530 GMT 11 Jan 88

[From the "Friendship Panorama" program]

[Text] The Soviet-Finnish trade agreement for the year 1988, signed recently in Moscow, calls for an increase in cable products to be supplied from Finland to the Soviet Union. The main producer of goods in this field, as is known, is Nokia Osakeyhtio. Our correspondent talked with Veikko Holmstrom, manager of the joint representative office of Kone Oy and Nokia Oy in Moscow. We will hear a recording of the interview.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] At what stage did Nokia Osakeyhtio begin its commercial contacts with the Soviet Union, Manager Veikko Holmstrom?

[Holmstrom] This year Nokia has been trading with the Soviet Union for 41 years, so trading relations have existed since 1946. Our first (?supplies) were, of course, cables. Cable production and Nokia's cooperation in general with the Soviet cable industry have continued for 40 years. The cable institute in Moscow, which is 40 years old today, has been, one could say, Nokia's partner for all its period of operation.

[Reporter] What is your assessment of Nokia's trade in the Soviet Union today?

[Holmstrom] Nokia's trade with the Soviet Union today is extremely broad and also very diverse. It includes a wide range of products, most of which are manufactured in cooperation. Telephone exchanges, robots, and automated lines are made jointly. A good example of cooperative projects is the cable factory opened in Odessa, which is maybe at the moment one of the most extensively automated cable factories in the world. At this factory, production is based on Soviet computers and Nokia's cable machines.

[Reporter] In other words, Nokia is also participating in developing production cooperation with the Soviet Union. How would you assess the prospects for this form of cooperation?

[Holmstrom] The cooperation currently being undertaken has developed according to plan. Maybe the greatest difficulty at the moment with it, if one many speak of difficulties—because in fact from Nokia's view point it has gone suprisingly well—but if we go back to a difficulty, it is that we have not found sufficient suitable Soviet components to the extent—I mean, for example,

electronic components—that we would have wished. In this connection, too, development has gone according to plan but mainly at their minimum level of requirement. As Nokia would have liked to increase the use of Soviet components much faster, this has not succeeded satisfactorily. As far as we can see, this is due mainly to the fact that Soviet components do not correspond to Western norms and standards. Thus, for example, electronic components do not in themselves suit the [word indistinct] boards, which, however, are supposed to be used in products we try to sell all over the world. So at the moment, the products made in cooperation have to be sold mainly on the Soviet market.

[Reporter] What chances, in your opinion, does trade and cooperation development between Nokia and the Soviet Union have, considering the currently continuing reform process in the Soviet Union?

[Holmstrom] In the development of trade in recent times, really, efforts have been made to find new forms of trade, because the original principle of "one buys, the other sells" these days no longer gives those possibilities for expanding trade which are vital. Negotiations begun as long as 10 years ago for joint manufacturing projects have succeeded, in Nokia's view, very well, and as I said, many joint manufacturing projects are continually being realized. Their share in the (?fast) trade between Nokia and the Soviet Union is increasing, and probably suitable subjects for establishing joint ventures between Nokia and Soviet enterprises will be found. This will have to be the next stage in trade between Nokia and Soviet organizations, in extending it, and the greatest difficulty; even though Nokia buys annually from the Soviet Union goods worth approximately 10% to 15% of its annual sales, it would be appropriate for both Nokia and the Soviet organizations to increase the use of Soviet components and materials, in both jointly produced goods and Nokia products in general.

[Reporter] Could you also mention some of the more interesting deliveries, and where in the Soviet Union Nokia's operations have gone?

[Holmstrom] You could say, all over the Soviet Union, into farthest Siberia even, there are operating telephone exchanges made in joint operations. Well, at the moment, automated lines are being made jointly, and the first destinations are in the Moscow area. [end recording]

Villagers Urge UK To Extradite War Criminal
AU261601 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
20 Jan 88 p 3

[Report by RATAU correspondent V. Malinovskiy: "The Killer Must Be Brought to Account"]

[Excerpts] The inhabitants of Maryevka village and Dobrovelichkovka settlement in Kirovograd Oblast have requested the British Government to extradite the war

criminal F. Kovalyuk. About 1,500 villagers gathered at a meeting on the occasion of the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the victims of fascism shot by the Hitlerites in January 1942 in a ravine dividing the two aforesaid localities, a ravine nicknamed Death Valley. [passage omitted]

Having volunteered to join the district police in 1941, F. Kovalyuk was directly involved in many crimes. In no time at all, his cruelty and servility won him recognition from his new masters, and he was promoted very soon. [passage omitted]

To avoid punishment for his crimes, F. Kovalyuk fled to the West in March 1944, along with the occupiers who were retreating under pressure from the Soviet troops. In 1949 he turned up in Paris, and later on he had found refuge in Great Britain.

Those participating in the meeting unanimously adopted the text of a message to the prime minister of Great Britain, Margaret Thatcher, demanding that the Nazi criminal be handed over to Soviet justice.

"While bowing our heads before the graves of those killed by the fascists and their accomplices," the document specifically reads "we must not forget that justice calls for the punishment of criminals, no matter where they hide. Fedor Kovalyuk, former chief of Dobrovelichkovka police station, who has on his conscience the lives of hundreds of peaceful inhabitants, found refuge after the war in Great Britain, a country that participated in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Evidence given by many eyewitnesses and confirmed by irrefutable documents shows that, in accordance with international law, the crimes perpetrated by the Hitlerite henchman were crimes against humanity."

The inhabitants of Maryevka and Dobrovelichkovka have also requested J. Perez de Cuellar, UN general secretary, to use his influence and authority so that all countries belonging to the United Nations comply with the precepts of the convention on the non-application of the statute of limitation to war criminals.

French Defense Delegation Arrives in Moscow

Led by Fillon

*LD251649 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT
25 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—A delegation of the Commission for National Defence and Armed Forces of the National Assembly of France headed by the commission's Chairman Francois Fillon today arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Commissions for Foreign Affairs of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Talks Held 26 Jan

*LD262004 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT
26 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Soviet MPs had a detailed and sincere exchange of opinions with a delegation of the National Defense and Armed Forces Commission of the French National Assembly at the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

Among the topics discussed were prospects of reaching a strategic offensive weapons limitation agreement after the Soviet-American Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-and-Shorter Range Missiles was signed, the elimination and banning of all chemical weapons, as well as limitation of arms and armed forces in central Europe.

Francois Fillon, the French delegation's head and the commission's president, spoke in favour of the Soviet-American treaty. Speaking about the chances of reaching an agreement on a 50 percent reduction of the strategic offensive arms, he pointed out that, in France's opinion, the ABM Treaty should be observed and emphasised France's negative attitude to SDI.

The sides had differences over a whole number of issues dealing with nuclear and conventional arms cuts. Favouring the disarmament and arms reduction process in general, the French side emphasised the need for preserving its nuclear forces as "deterrent" and did not respond clearly when France was going to join the nuclear disarmament process.

Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stressed that the new political thinking called for recognising the impossibility of winning a nuclear war. That is why the Soviet Union's foreign policy is firmly oriented at achieving nuclear disarmament and averting a nuclear war.

Soviet and French MPs drew the unanimous conclusion that comparing and discussing each other's points of view made for better mutual understanding. They said that the disarmament process should be accompanied by the promotion of mutual trust and that the development of Soviet-French parliamentary contacts could contribute to that process.

Shevardnadze Concludes Visit to Spain

*PM251505 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Madrid, 22 Jan—E.A. Shevardnadze delivered a report on the progress of restructuring and the tasks of Soviet diplomacy at an aktiv meeting of employees of the USSR Embassy and other Soviet establishments in Spain.

In the evening E.A. Shevardnadze, who has completed official visits to the FRG and Spain, returned to Moscow.

He was met at the airport by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

The welcoming party included A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR, and A. de Noriega, Spanish charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR.

Spanish Socialist Workers Congress Opens 22 Jan
PM270933 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Chernyshev and TASS correspondent R. Serbrennikov dispatch: "Congress Opens"]

[Text] Madrid, 22 Jan—The 31st congress of the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers Party [PSOE] opened here today. Some 860 delegates representing 213,000 party members are taking part in its work. The foreign guests include a CPSU delegation headed by V.Ya. Pavlov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism.

Greeting the congress participants, Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt emphasized that socialists in different countries "fully support" the path followed by the Soviet Union and the United States in their desire to put an end to the arms race. The funds now spent on the production of mass destruction weapons must be channeled into the struggle against famine in the world.

Speaking at the plenary session, Felipe Gonzalez, PSOE secretary general and head of government, paid particular attention to the socioeconomic situation in Spain. Having noted a certain improvement in the country's economy, he admitted at the same time that, despite the government's efforts, serious difficulties remain in solving social problems and primarily in overcoming unemployment.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Consequences of Haitian Election

Results 'Rigged'

PM271041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Results Are Rigged"]

[Text] According to Antilles radio, a partial count of electors' votes cast in the course of the "general election" held last Sunday by the ruling regime in Haiti shows that Leslie Manigat won "victory" in them. This news was not unexpected for political observers in the countries of

the Caribbean Basin. Prior to the voting, the opposition in Haiti possessed information that the military had prepared lists of "winners" in advance.

Radio Roundtable

PA191615 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America
0000 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Roundtable with moderator Viktor Deruga, Haitian journalist Luke Alfred, and Soviet journalist (Gergin Vai)]

[Text] [Deruga] Once again we meet in this roundtable to review the situation in Haiti prior to the elections that have been scheduled for 17 January. I must note that last week we also held a roundtable; however, the situation has substantially changed so much that we have seen the need to discuss this topic again.

Luke, I would like to listen to your opinion. How do you evaluate the situation after these changes have taken place in Haiti?

[Alfred] Sudden changes have taken place regarding the situation in this Caribbean country. [Words indistinct] they have said we would have a government resulting from an electoral farce in Haiti. At the Caricom [Caribbean Common Market] meeting, [passage indistinct] but they asked the creditors of the Haitian military regime—the United States, Italy, and France—to totally resume aid to Haiti. This change is the result of U.S. pressure on the Caribbean leaders. Prior to the Caricom meeting, Elliott Abrams, the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, summoned these leaders to a private meeting. All of this was meant to make the electoral farce scheduled for 17 January appear democratic. [words indistinct] send observers from the United Nations, the OAS, the OAU, and other international organizations.

[Deruga] [Words indistinct] which is flatly refused to uphold and that is a notable change of position. Now I would like to ask Gergin [words indistinct] attempts to calm the population. Can this change the result of these elections?

[(Vai)] I do not believe their decision can have a positive effect on the election results. I believe these are U.S. Government efforts to make the current Haitian Government appear as democratic as possible. The development of the events in Haiti made me recall an anecdote, which I read in THE WASHINGTON TIMES. In Washington, there was once an individual who, immediately after arriving at the airport, walked toward Arlington Cemetery, where former U.S. President John Kennedy is buried. The individual stopped in front of the tomb for a few minutes and then collected a handful of the soil around the tomb. When he arrived to Port-au-Prince, the individual gave the handful of soil to former President for Life Francois Duvalier. According to the journalists' version, this soil would be used by the Haitian president to dominate the soul of John Kennedy with the object of

influencing the U.S. State Department's decisions regarding Haiti. I do not know if the [words indistinct] want to presently dominate the Haitian authorities. The fact is that the U.S. Government policy regarding Haiti has changed in the past few weeks. The United States is afraid that an explosion of the situation could get out of control.

[Deruga] [Words indistinct] The U.S. Government's control over Haiti [words indistinct] events that have taken place in the last few days. As you mentioned in our previous roundtable, Luke, the U.S. naval maneuvers have begun near the coasts of the Caribbean country. Another event that has taken place is the Haitian Army's assuming the role of electoral guardians. They have taken over the streets in Port-au-Prince to try to safeguard the lives of Haitians during elections. Should we believe in these forms of support for the elections? What is your opinion about all this, Luke?

[Alfred] Regarding the Haitian Government's position and [words indistinct] U.S. and Canadian ships with the purpose of evacuating the citizens of those countries in Haiti. I believe you do not need a navy of almost 30 warships to evacuate the 10,000 U.S. citizens in Haiti. All of these ships have been sent there to assure the development of the electoral farce scheduled for 17 January....

[Deruga, interrupting] With pressure maintained by the United States.

[Alfred] In Haiti, the Army patrols the [words indistinct] in the capital and the buildings in which the polling places and the electoral colleges are located. The Army does this to ensure the success of their plans. However, what was the people's reaction when confronted with this spectacle?

[Deruga] The position that people and the most important opposition organizations uphold right now is a very important aspect.

[Alfred] I was going to say that the boycott of next Sunday's electoral farce is assured, because while for the 29 November 1987 elections there were more than 2 million voters participating in the voting process, in this election farce—planned for 17 January—virtually no one has registered. I mean, it is said that the dead are being counted. The electoral list is composed mainly of dead people. The Haitian capital, the provinces are emptying out. People are taking refuge in the plains, in the hills, anywhere, because they fear bloody incidents, such as those staged by the Tonton Macoutes during the last election. This is how the Haitian, quote, preelection, unquote, situation stands at present.

[Deruga] In other words, after the 29 November experience, Haitians fear that the Army, which is supposed to protect them during elections, will play a completely different role; they fear that the U.S. Army, which now

plays the role of ensuring the farce, will decide to switch roles at some time. For example, it may try to ensure that events favor the United States, if things take an unexpected turn.

[(Vai)] I think so. I think that in such a situation something could happen in Haiti. I think a plan has already been hatched by the United States and is already under way.

[Deruga] Sorry to interrupt you. Just a few moments ago, we were commenting with Luke on the fact that Americans already know the name of the winner.

[(Vai)] Well, this is true. Among the candidates in the race, we followed [Gerard-Philippe] Auguste, an agronomist who has spent 23 years in Africa. Apparently he is the favorite—U.S. imperialism's favorite puppet. This decision resulted from an agreement between the U.S. State Department and Namphy's council.

[Deruga] Luke, you may continue.

[Alfred] We could do quite a bit of speculating about future events, but I believe the central problem is to see the impact of these elections on Haitians. I believe that when the new Haitian president is elected, the United States—[words indistinct] weakened, tired by Namphy's cohorts—will renew economic and military aid to Haiti.

I remember that when I was in Haiti, I asked many of the Haitian unemployed and homeless if they had seen the economic aid or food donated by the Washington government. The response was unanimous: No. None had seen this economic aid. I believe that future aid will have the same results; it will not reach the people.

[Deruga] Well, this military regime [words indistinct] has received almost \$200 million in aid from the United States in 2 years. However, in these 2 years, the Haitians' fundamental problems have not [words indistinct]. To summarize the results of U.S. aid to Haiti, I will cite some verses from a poem by one of the great Haitian poets: While more millions of dollars enter Haiti, the Haitian people's misery increases. We have to ask ourselves [words indistinct] after elections if the United States manages to impose its candidate, how will events in Haiti unfold?

[Alfred] I think it is difficult to predict Haiti's future. I believe it all depends on the consolidation of the opposition's unity within the country.

[Deruga] My dear friends, after we have once again analyzed the Haitian situation on the eve of the 17 January elections, we can say that regardless of the results of this electoral farce, regardless of who is to be the future president of this country—a president that will surely favor the United States—the struggle will not stop

there. Therefore, the Haitian people will have to struggle hard, will have to take measures to defend its cause, its interests, and continue on the path toward true freedom and independence.

Call for General Strike

LD271022 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT
27 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

Haiti's main oppositional parties called a general strike in the country for Thursday to press their demands for the cancellation of the results of the January 17 general election. Leslie Maniga, the close associate of the Duvalier clan, was proclaimed the winner. According to reports reaching here from Port-au-Prince, the coalition bloc uniting four oppositional parties, the Committee of Democratic Accord, distributed a statement saying that the elections were a cynical farce held under the auspices of the ruling three-man government.

The statement stresses that the Social-Christian Party, the National Party of Agricultural and Industrial Entrepreneurs, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in Haiti and the United Front of National Accord intend to appeal the results of the sham elections at the court. The forthcoming general strike, the statement points out, will help set the stage for further large-scale actions of protest, if the authorities fail to heed the legitimate demands for the cancellation of the election results. Leading oppositional parties also point out that Maniga can not be recognised as president since 95 per cent of the electorate boycotted the poll. The results of the voting benefited only the military who, with the help of bayonets, intend to bring to power the obedient government.

Maniga formally becomes president on February 7 this year, two years to the day after Duvalier fled the country. At the same time, political news analysts do not believe that the situation in Haiti will stabilise when the new government assumes power. They predict further exacerbation of the internal situation. These predictions are based on the fact that Maniga, in fact another stooge of Washington, is facing avowed opposition from the people of Haiti. In this connection the news analysts recall the recent statement by Luke Innosan, one of the leaders of the opposition and chairman of the Movement for the Revolutionary Unity, that if the results of the poll are not cancelled the Haitian people will have nothing else to do but to fight for democracy with arms in hand.

Gulf of Mexico Shipping Incident Detailed

PM251600 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Second Edition p 6

[G. Yastrebtsov report under the rubric "Emergency":
"It Happened in the Gulf of Mexico"]

[Text] The dry cargo ship Mekhanik Dren was on its way through the Gulf of Mexico to the port of Galveston to pick up a consignment of grain. The sea was calm, and

visibility, despite low clouds, was good: approximately 10 miles. On the bridge, apart from Second Navigator S. Ledovskiy and Seaman A. Brilev, was P. Sevruk, captain of the diesel ship and an experienced navigator. In the machine room mechanics and engineers were on watch.

In the half-darkness of the deckhouse, the instrument gauges flickered with a greenish light, and muted commands could be heard. In general the voyage was proceeding smoothly and the situation, the captain was later to say, was normal.

At 0400 hours First Mate A. Kapustyan and Seaman I. Chukhriy came on watch.

"You plot the course," the captain said, "and I will go out onto the side of the bridge. Report the ship's position every 20 minutes and make radar observations...."

Now it will be necessary to continue the story strictly in chronological order, because this is important in order to understand and picture the events that followed.

So, at 0407, on the captain's orders, the officer of the watch turned the ship a few degrees to starboard in order to miss an oncoming vessel—the crew saw its lights clearly ahead of them on their course. The Mekhanik Dren then returned to its former course of 323°. In a couple of minutes, the captain asked his first mate whether it was time to turn onto a course of 305°. The mate replied: "Not yet."

It was not until 6 minutes later that they began to turn. Later, in the course of investigation of the incident, specialists from the Odessa Higher Marine Engineering School were to analyze the graph of the course and come to the conclusion that the ship began its turn precisely 6 minutes later than the calculated time. You might think that in the boundless ocean, 6 minutes is a trivial matter! But, first, the Mekhanik Dren was not on the open seas, but in the Gulf of Mexico, which is packed with ships and drilling rigs, close to the U.S. coast. Second, in transportation, including maritime transportation, there are, or should be, no trivial matters. If you do not take proper care, if you relax, if you rely on "smart" instruments or an experienced assistant—you can expect trouble....

At 0433 the captain, and, indeed, everyone who was on the bridge at that moment, suddenly saw very close by, 2 or 3 cable lengths from the Mekhanik Dren, the vast bulk of a drilling rig. It was showing no lights.

"Hard aport!" the captain commanded, but it was too late: The black shadow hung over the ship and the scraping of metal could be heard. The blow was severe, although glancing. The Mekhanik Dren suffered considerable damage. There is no need to list all of it. I will only say that holes appeared in the hull, and one of the holds began to take in water.

The crew were roused by the alarm. The seamen rushed to pump out the water. A reconnaissance group descended into the No 5 hold and soon reported: The hole is about 10 m long and 10 cm wide. They began to stop it up. The ship had a list to port, but water stopped coming into the hold.

The captain decided to make for port.

The damaged ship slowly moved away from the dark silhouette of the deserted drilling rig....

That is a brief description of the accident. Was it worth writing about? After all, the sea is the sea. Gales, fog, hurricane winds—these are the companions of sailors. Throughout the ages they have caused disasters at sea.

But let us remember: In the fall of the year before last, the steamer Admiral Nakhimov sank in clear, calm weather. Nothing appeared to be preventing it from calmly moving away from the diesel ship Petr Vasev. Nothing except the astonishing, incomprehensible negligence of the captains, who must answer, first and foremost, for the equipment entrusted to them and for people's lives. Without a high sense of personal responsibility for the task in hand, there can be no safety at sea. Then neither many years' experience nor dashing courage will save you. You cannot joke with the sea; it does not forgive mistakes.

The Mekhanik Dren escaped comparatively lightly. After its collision with the drilling rig, it remained afloat and reached the nearest port. However, the crew escaped lightly only in the sense that the people stayed alive. The repairs in the docks at the American port of Galveston cost 433,957 gold rubles.

Of course, until the court gives its verdict we have no right to claim that all blame rests solely with the captain of the Mekhanik Dren or, for instance, his first mate. The competent commission, headed by Captain V. Tishin of the Odessa Maritime Trading Port, believes

that the owners of the drilling rig should also bear part of the responsibility. It was not showing any warning lights, although this procedure is prescribed in Article 67 of U.S. federal law.

Doubtless that is true. But the purpose of these notes is not to pinpoint other people's sins, but to point out our own. A modern oceangoing ship is a very complex technical organism, a miniature factory, you could say. Only 30 or 40 people manage all its "shops." Enormously valuable assets are entrusted to them. So why is it that not everyone in the severe uniform of a sailor feels the weight of responsibility on his shoulders?

Yesterday, when I was at the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, V. Nekhoroshev, chairman of the All-Union Moreplavaniye Association, drew my attention to two brief lines in the report of our country's experts. Here they are: "The first mate misled the captain in determining the timing of the change to the new course." "The captain decided with insufficient grounds to leave a safe course to avoid a ship."

"Each of these violations," Vladimir Mikhaylovich said, "is fraught with great danger. Each of them! And they multiply each other...."

There is nothing to add to the specialist's words. The sea has yet again proved the old truth: If you want to return to shore unharmed, look carefully where you are going.

Menteshashvili Holds Talks in Suriname
LD271401 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0920 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Paramaribo, 27 Jan (TASS)—[passage omitted]

A USSR delegation headed by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was received by Ramsewak Shankar, the president of Suriname, and Henck Arron, vice president and prime minister of the country. Questions of interests to both sides were discussed. Mutual interest in the further development of relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Suriname was expressed.

Political & Social

Shcherbitskiy Reports to Ukrainian CP Plenum
PM261701 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Deepen Restructuring at All Levels"]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Jan—To comprehensively analyze the processes of deepening democratization and implementing the radical economic reform in the republic, to show the first experience, to expose shortcomings—this is the task facing the participants in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum which opened today to discuss the Central Committee Politburo's report on work in guiding restructuring.

The report by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and the speeches pointed out that the republic's working people have activated their practical support for the CPSU policy of renewing all aspects of the life of society. The Central Committee Politburo is seeking to increase party influence on the development of the economy and of the social and other spheres, above all, on the basis of democratizing internal party life and enhancing the role of the elected aktiv and of Communists' initiative.

It was pointed out at the plenum that democratization is inconceivable without overcoming conservative sentiments and broadening glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism. Correct conclusions in this area have been drawn by a number of party obkoms which had previously allowed serious shortcomings in work. The inability to carry out restructuring under the new conditions was manifested particularly noticeably in the work style and methods of Dnepropetrovsk and Lvov party obkoms and their former first secretaries. The state of affairs in Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Nikolayev, and Odessa Oblasts, where there are still no real changes for the better, continues to cause concern.

There are obvious changes in the cause of democratization, in the implementation of the economic reform, and in cadre work, and they are gathering momentum and acquiring dynamism. As a result, economic efficiency is growing. However, as the report and speeches pointed out, neither the pace nor the scale of the work on implementing the radical reform is as yet satisfactory, because it has still not been possible to mobilize deep-seated reserves and all scientific, technical, and economic levers in full. Virtually one enterprise in every five failed to cope with the plans for product deliveries and labor productivity growth. The plans for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan were not fulfilled for gross output and the production of many agricultural crops. One of the chief reasons for this is that the Council of Ministers Presidium, the Gosplan, the Gosagroprom, ministries,

departments, and oblispolkoms lose sight of many important tasks or fail to resolve them on time, and the Central Committee Politburo does not display sufficient exactingness toward them.

The report stated: The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo objectively assesses the level of its responsibility for ensuring the restructuring of the republic's economy but, at the same time, believes that a number of acute and large-scale questions, such as the modernization of ferrous metallurgy enterprises and the development of the Donbass, are not being resolved on time at the Gosplan and the Ferrous Metallurgy and Coal Industry Ministries of the USSR.

The plenum devoted great attention to questions of the priority development of the social sphere. Note was taken of the importance of accelerating the pace of construction of housing and sociocultural and consumer projects, improving the supply of food and consumer goods to the population, and overcoming omissions in health care. It was emphasized that, in the final analysis, people judge the work efficiency of party and soviet organs and the progress of restructuring by the way in which these questions are being resolved.

The plenum participants exactly analyzed the ideological activity of party organizations. Examples were cited of the emergence of new forms of lecture propaganda, political and economic studies, and mass political work. However, this work is frequently lacking in initiative, dynamism, and persistence in resolving urgent tasks.

It was pointed out that far from everything that was planned has been done. The state of affairs has not always been carefully assessed. Shortcomings which have appeared in the course of restructuring are not being eliminated in a timely manner. Both the report and the speeches criticized the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretaries. It was stated that it is necessary to improve work with cadres, study them at work, teach them in specific matters, and more actively support their initiative. Party organs must also rid themselves more resolutely of economic functions uncharacteristic of them.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum completed its work 23 January.

The plenum adopted a resolution expressing confidence that, in approaching the 19th All-Union Party Conference, all the republic's party committees and primary party organizations will still more widely develop organizational and political work on mobilizing Communists and all working people to actively participate in the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and to struggle for the fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the 12th 5-Year Plan targets.

Vorotnikov Leads Discussion of Contract Problems

PM261029 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 3

[Report by unnamed own special correspondent: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Contractual relations between suppliers and clients play a special role in the transfer to full economic accountability now that the Law on the State Enterprise has come into force. This question was the subject of discussion at a routine session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium. It noted that work to conclude economic contracts for 1988 should have been completed well in advance—by 1 October last year.

However, the leaders of many republic ministries, departments, local soviets, enterprises, and organizations failed to take into consideration this specific feature of the new economic year. As a result, this very important work has not been completed. A particularly unsatisfactory situation has come about in the RSFSR Gosagroprom, the Ministries of the Construction Materials Industry, of Local Industry, and of the Fuel Industry, and the construction complex. It is here above all that the inertia of outmoded approaches to concluding contracts and inadequate mastery of economic methods of management has made itself felt.

The presidium advised the Gosplan, the Gosstab, the State Board of Arbitration, ministries, departments, and local soviet bodies to take urgent measures to complete the drawing up of contracts as quickly as possible.

The presidium also discussed a report by the Rostov Oblispolkom on its work to speed up the solution of the housing problem. Certain other questions were also examined and appropriate decisions adopted.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Buynovskiy Interviewed on Labor Reform

PM261045 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Buynovskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, by correspondent E. Gonzalyez, under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "There Is Enough Work for Everyone. A Statewide System for the Job Placement, Retraining, and Vocational Guidance of the Population Is Being Set Up"; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Advertisements at enterprise gates invite people wanting to work... Notices displayed in Urban Information Bureau windows announce: "Wanted... Wanted... Wanted..." We are not simply summoned—we are tempted with kindergartens, Young Pioneer camps, free

travel or residence permits. As before, there is a surplus of vacancies in the country as a whole. Yet suddenly the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU resolution "On Ensuring Effective Employment of the Population, Improving the Job Placement System, and Enhancing Social Guarantees for Working People" is published.

Why did it come about, what circumstances brought it into being? And why just now, in the very first few days of 1988? It was with these questions that IZVESTIYA correspondent E. Gonzalyez began his interview with V. Buynovskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

"This can be answered in just two words: economic reform," Viktor Mikhaylovich Buynovskiy said. "It was the new economic conditions that forced us to seriously change our attitude toward terms like permanent place of work, labor agreement, retraining, job placement, and so on. Let me remind readers that the USSR Law on the State Enterprise came into force 1 January and the bulk of industry and agricultural enterprises switched to full economic accountability [khozaschet], self-capitalizing, and self-financing. Construction industry and transportation workers and scientific organizations are also switching to the same principles of work. The functions of management institutions are changing.

"In their conception, all these changes are aimed at ensuring that as much work as before or more is performed by fewer workers. How else could we introduce, for example, new wage rates and salary scales? Or why have an excessively unwieldy management apparatus when a considerable proportion of its functions is transferred to the enterprises themselves? Finally, there is an objective factor—scientific and technical progress, which our economy will be much more receptive to in the new conditions.

[Gonzalyez] This is in general an endless process since, as everyone knows, there are no limits to improvement.

[Buynovskiy] This is precisely why the release of workers by enterprises and institutions is a continuous process. It is expected to be stepped up in the immediate future, even though the recent past offers quite a few examples of sharp reductions of the work force. Let me recall the Belorussian Railroad, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, and the total abolition of several ministries and departments, main administrations and associations, and scientific institutions. The republics are now elaborating general schemes for national economic management which envisage significant cutbacks in the apparatus. All in all, it is forecast that approximately 15-17 million workers will have been released by the year 2000.

[Gonzalyez] If this process occurs on such a large scale and is, furthermore, endless, we will evidently have to develop a clear-cut attitude toward it—an approach adequate to meet at least present-day conditions.

[Buynovskiy] First of all, it has to be noted that it is by no means everywhere that we have surplus manpower. The services sphere, for example, or some Siberian regions could offer scope for activity for millions. Hence our approach toward the utilization of labor resources: to ensure full and effective employment of the population, every person's right to work according to his abilities but also taking into account the social need for such labor. This is the objective! The means to achieve it is the redistribution of the work force with minimum material and moral losses for people, and ultimately balance between jobs and labor resources, which does not exist yet. We would very much like, for example, to staff new sectors bred by scientific and technical progress and promising regions with the released workers....

[Gonzalez] Everything is correct in theory. But, Viktor Mikhaylovich, it is all right for the two of us to talk now about the redistribution of labor resources. I think that so far there are no plans to redistribute us personally. But what about the people who are already affected by this? What is the compensation for temporary loss of work, for transfer, removal, and retraining, in short, for what the individual sacrifices for the sake of society's interests?

[Buynovskiy] First of all, it is necessary to ensure that the actual sacrifices, as you put it, are reduced to a minimum. To this end it is necessary to take advantage of any opportunity to place such persons in jobs at the same enterprise, in the same sector, in the same city or region. New jobs must be created at enterprises. But what sort of jobs? In the reconstruction of production, the construction of housing using the own-resources method, the provision of services to the population, and the like. There is also the multishift utilization of equipment.

[Gonzalez] In other words, the expansion of activity in every way without automatically increasing capacities?

[Buynovskiy] Correct. The next step is to place people in jobs in other enterprises of the same sector but possibly in other cities. The resolution makes provision for compensation—wages remaining at the former level for a certain period of time and so on.

[Gonzalez] It is interesting that the resolution several times mentions consumer goods production, especially as one of the main avenues for the redistribution of the work force. Previously we used to campaign more for coal extraction, metallurgy, or subway construction.

[Buynovskiy] The leftover principle used to be applied to social matters. But now any contribution toward social development is valued, including work in cooperatives and individual labor activity. Brokerage, introduction, service, and other cooperatives offer an alternative deserving attention for specialists who have been made redundant by an enterprise or management apparatus.

[Gonzalez] But so far we have treated work in cooperatives or individual labor activity as something perfectly voluntary, in conformity with a person's wishes and inclinations. If, on the other hand, we somehow push people into such work, we will inevitably face the question of maintaining social benefits—pensions, sick pay, and so on.

[Buynovskiy] I am not going to make any forecasts, but we may have to solve this problem as time goes by. Just like, incidentally, other problems whose emergence is difficult to even imagine—after all, we have very little experience in the redistribution of labor resources. But for the time being we envisage the formation of cooperatives under enterprises, which means that the problem of social benefits will be solved.

Generally speaking, any released worker is given sufficient time for job placement. People are given 2 months' advance notice of staff cutbacks—and they will, of course, start looking for a new job right away. On dismissal they receive 1 month's wages, followed by compensation payments over the next 2 months. Continuity of service is maintained throughout these 3 months.

If someone is willing and able to work, he will certainly have a chance to find a job. If there is nothing going in his former speciality, there will be time to change directions and learn a new speciality. Wages continue to be paid during the training period.

[Gonzalez] Who will pay during the retraining period?

[Buynovskiy] If a job placement center or bureau sends someone to a new enterprise, the enterprise will pay during the training period at the former earnings level.

Generally speaking, we must also change our former approach toward retraining. It is time to treat calmly the fact that people will not necessarily follow the same vocation throughout their lives. Knowledge is updated so swiftly nowadays....

[Gonzalez] Evidently, here we come right up against the functions of the statewide system for job placement of the population that is to be set up. After all, we already have job placement bureaus in operation, but the impression is that people turn to them as a last resort—when other opportunities have been exhausted.

[Buynovskiy] From now on the centers for job placement, retraining, and vocational guidance of the population, and the corresponding bureaus in smaller towns, will acquire a completely different status. To begin with, it is mandatory for all enterprises, organizations, and institutions to notify the centers or bureaus of any existing vacancies. Mandatory!

Using computer facilities, every center or bureau will have access to data banks showing the labor resources of the city, oblast, or region. The task of workers in the center will be to reconcile jobs and resources and achieve a balance. So far this has not been done by job placement organs. Apart from, perhaps, some centers like the one in Novopolotsk.

[Gonzalyez] It is assumed that the centers and bureaus will be economically accountable. The resolution names one of their sources of revenue—payments for labor resources. Are there any other sources? Will the people who ask a center or bureau for assistance have to pay anything?

[Buynovskiy] Their services are free to the population. They will enter into economic contract relationships only with enterprises and organizations. The centers and bureaus will undertake to supply enterprises with cadres, to organize the retraining of workers, and even to forecast the manpower needs of various sectors in the light of the region's potential.

Job placement organs will be functional subdivisions of local ispolkoms.

[Gonzalyez] Incidentally, ispolkoms have been given the right, by agreement with the labor collectives, to postpone the release of workers from enterprises, organizations, and institutions. True, only in exceptional cases. But what could be considered an exception?

[Buynovskiy] When, for example, a ministry decides to close down a given production unit in a city. The date has been set, but without taking into account the fact that a new plant will be commissioned in that same city in 2-3 months' time. It may be in a completely different sphere, but would it not be sensible to combine the closure of one enterprise and the opening of another? Here you have an example when it is not worth hurrying with staff cutbacks.

In general, the soviets will have to do more work with labor resources. They will play a greater role in planning new jobs, subsidiaries, and shops. But the most important thing will be monitoring the correct implementation of the resolution we are discussing.

[Gonzalyez] Presumably the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems will also have more worries now. The resolution contains direct instructions for your department.

[Buynovskiy] One of the resolution's paragraphs says about us: to provide any necessary explanations... and so forth. In other words, many provisions must be correctly interpreted. Look, here is, for example, one draft document, here is another.... We expect to have completed this work in the next few days.

[Gonzalyez] So soon?

[Buynovskiy] Well, we did not start only yesterday. Almost all other work has been shelved for now, several groups of specialists have been set up—they have gotten down to urgently preparing the final draft of the explanatory documents. Otherwise production managers will simply not understand us.

[Gonzalyez] Presumably the setting up of the system for job placement of the population will take a long time?

[Buynovskiy] Of course. This will evidently take the whole of 1988. We are training cadres and acquiring equipment, including computers. The average job placement center will employ some 30 people—sociologists, psychologists, jurists, and computer service specialists.

[Gonzalyez] So the process of the redistribution of labor resources is acquiring theoretical substantiation and a material base. But life is, of course, much more complex than pure theory. Despite all the compensation payments, it will take us a long time to get used to staff cutbacks, redesignation of enterprises, and abolition of the management link. How is this process to be made easier, how are personal tragedies to be avoided? After all, we do have some experience already.

[Buynovskiy] Yes, we do have experience. On its basis, the resolution prescribes an exclusively individual approach toward the job placement of workers, even if it is a matter of the collective of an institution that is being closed down. The second absolute condition is the solution of all problems in public view. In other words, using glasnost and involving trade union organizations and the labor collective.

The initial experience has shown that, when these conditions are observed, there are almost no tragedies or conflicts. In production, at least, they are extremely rare. Matters are more complex in the management apparatus. Our committee, for example, is also implementing staff cutbacks. Sometimes secret ballots have to be taken in departments. What can you do—we all are inclined to overestimate ourselves, and ballots like these seem to offer an objective and detached view.

[Gonzalyez] The loss of a job within the apparatus is probably a real tragedy indeed for many people, especially for those who have become professional "staff" workers, bypassing production. Plants would hardly take them on—now they are operating on economic accountability and self-capitalizing with all the ensuing consequences.

[Buynovskiy] Of course, it is a tragedy. But is it a real tragedy? People will be given an opportunity—without any great loss—to find a new position in life while bringing a benefit to society. You must agree that to cling to a job that is totally unnecessary is also a tragedy.

[Gonzalyez] Until quite recently this was perceived as ability to set one's self up in life.

[Buynovskiy] Well, presumably not only our economy but also our views will be reformed.

Deputy Procurator General Holds News Conference
LD261642 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—A press conference today at the USSR Procurator's Office was devoted to the further democratisation of criminal law, court procedure and greater observance of legislation.

Deputy Procurator General of the USSR Aleksandr Katusev [as received] said in part that a decision has been made to alleviate conditions in places of detention for juveniles. He said that a bill was being drafted on the procedure of the preparation and adoption of normative acts by government agencies. "It is quite often now that the content of orders or circulars issued by government agencies contradicts existing legislation", he said. "After the new law is adopted not a single such document will enter into force before it is registered at the USSR Ministry of Justice and the Procurator's Office of the USSR."

Katusev admitted that violation of law and order remained a problem in the USSR. Among the factors influencing the situation he named abuse of alcohol, drug addiction, parasitism and avarice. The number of premeditated murders increased last year in a number of Soviet constituent republics. Damage inflicted by theft of state and public property in the first six months of last year amounted to 122 million roubles. Bribery remains widespread. More than 5,000 such crimes were uncovered in the first half of 1987.

"All this requires new efforts in the struggle against crime", the deputy procurator general of the USSR said. "But it is by far not always that this struggle should develop along the line of sterner punishment. On the contrary, the question of alleviating criminal legislation is now being studied: abolition of exile and deportation, considerable reduction of the application of the death sentence. By all probability lawyers will be allowed to join a case already at the stage of preliminary investigation".

Katusev said that the investigation into the case of the former deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR Yuriy Churbanov has been completed. He is accused of accepting bribes to the sum of more than 650,000 roubles and abuse of office. At present Churbanov is acquainting himself with the materials of the investigation after which the case will be handed over to a court.

Education Minister Describes School Reform
LD262010 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The quest for the most rational forms of training specialists, guaranteeing their skill and competence and dynamic development of

new trends of sciences and technology—such is the essence of the restructuring of the Soviet higher school, said Gennadiy Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialised education. He met today with heads of diplomatic representations accredited in the USSR.

We train a sufficient number of specialists for all the branches of the economy, he said. As many as 898 institutes and universities now function in the Soviet Union. They graduated 800 thousand specialists last year.

The further integration of education, science and production is one of the main ways of upgrading the training of cadres, the minister said. Transformations take place also in other directions. Specifically, the training of students assumes a more individual nature, the volume of independent work of young people increases. We attach much importance to humanitarian education, to profound study of history, philosophy, literature by all specialists, whether teachers, physicians, engineers or scientists, he emphasized.

The minister spoke about the process of the democratisation of the higher school. Elections of rectors of institutes became customary. Students take part in the work of academic boards. Young people account for a quarter of their composition.

More than 100 thousand students, postgraduates and trainees from 150 countries now study in the Soviet higher educational and secondary specialised schools, it was announced at the meeting. Some 300 thousand specialists in various continents have Soviet diplomas.

Latvian Composer Discusses Russification

AU221242 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 22 Jan 88
p 6

[Text] A short time ago the things that the Latvian composer Raimond Pauls was permitted to say about nationalism and the national question in an interview published in the magazine SOVIET UNION TODAY, issued by the press department of the Soviet Embassy, would have been totally inconceivable.

Pauls, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, refers to the demonstrations that took place in Riga last year. Some of the demonstrators were certainly nationalists, he says, others came out of curiosity, and then there were many there who "had had to spend 15-20 years—in a conservative estimate—far away from home."

But this is not the only reference to the two mass deportations under Stalin (1940 and 1947). Pauls adds that Latvians amount to only 37% of the population in the Latvian capital of Riga. The people coming from other areas of the Soviet Union—mainly industrial

workers from Russia and Belorussia—get the new apartments. The newcomers influence the modes of behavior and traditions: "Of course, this irritates the original inhabitants."

Is this superpower chauvinism and russification? The interviewer asks. Paul's answer is very differentiated:

"Only very few of the people who come to our republic consider it necessary to learn the language of the people among whom they live or to get to know their culture and their traditions." The result is that the cultures exist side by side, and not together. The immigrants say they do not need Latvian because everyone speaks Russian anyway. "The Latvians often consider this as an insult on a purely human level...., this is then taken advantage of by those who vociferously call for a 'free Latvia.'"

This is a feeling that is hardly restricted to "nationalists," if one looks at the official statistics: In 1930 about 74% of the population of the Republic of Latvia, which had been founded in 1918, were Latvians; in 1977 Latvians amounted to only 56% (30% were Russians).

Doctor Comments on Ubozhko's Mental Health
LD251757 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT
25 Jan 88

[Text] Chelyabinsk January 25 (TASS)—Correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko writes:

It is reported in the Western media that a certain Lev Ubozhko has been forcefully placed in the No 1 Regional Psychoneurological Hospital in Chelyabinsk, a city in the southern Urals. The correspondent met with the hospital's chief physician Nikolay Movchan and asked him if he had such a patient.

"First of all, the rules of hospitalising and treating psychic patients do not provide for a public announcement of their identity and the diagnosis", the chief physician said. "This has always been a medical secret. But since the Western media have not only disclosed Ubozhko's identity but are trying to present him as a 'fighter for democracy' and a 'victim' of Soviet psychiatry, I believe I have the right to clarify the situation".

"Ubozhko has been our patient several times during the past years. He suffers from a chronic psychic disease. For understandable reasons I do not have the right to divulge the exact diagnosis. The patient has repeatedly sought the consultation of a number of leading specialists in Chelyabinsk, Omsk, Mogilyov and Moscow and they all have confirmed our diagnosis", Movchan went on.

"Specialists have worked hard to return Ubozhko at least to a normal state which would enable him to continue treatment at home", Movchan said further. "He was discharged from the hospital last summer and advised to check his health with local doctors. But he vanished. When he re-entered our hospital our doctors hardly

recognised him. He was emaciated and psychically exhausted. A slightly built man, he had lost 12 kilos. He laughed without cause, talked nonstop and obviously could not control his actions. We learned from him that he had been a vagabond and made a tour of some twenty cities. All this resulted in a drastic deterioration of his old disease".

The chief physician touched on the irresponsible publicity that Ubozhko is being given in the West and stressed that "it is not humane to use a mentally sick person for dubious political aims". "Even though Ubozhko is in the hospital at least some information about this propaganda fuss reaches him. This excites him, he does not sleep at night. This saps his nervous system and worsens his condition", the Soviet psychiatrist said.

The TASS correspondent asked whether the measures taken in respect of Ubozhko accord with the existing legislation and the rules concerning the terms and procedure of providing psychiatric aid that were recently approved by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Absolutely. We are prepared to present any of our patients to competent foreign psychiatrists for examination. But I must repeat—only to competent ones", Doctor Movchan stressed.

Jewish Refusenik Allowed to Leave
AU261928 Paris AFP in English 1919 GMT
26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, Jan 26 (AFP)—One of the best-known Soviet "refuseniks," Naum Meiman, whose case had been taken up by France and the United States, on Tuesday he had been given permission to emigrate to Israel, 13 years after applying for his exit visa. [sentence as received]

Mr. Meiman, 75, a founder-member of a group set up to monitor the 1975 Helksinki Final Act, had persistently been barred from leaving because the authorities said he held "state secrets" related to work he did in the 1950's as a mathematician.

He had waged an energetic campaign against the official stand, affirming that any information he held was long since obsolete.

Mr. Meiman, who is a close associate of dissident physicist Andrey Sakharov, told AGENCE-FRANCE PRESSE he had been informed of the fresh decision in a telephone call Tuesday from the Foreign Ministry's visa office.

He said he did not yet know when he would leave.

Mr. Meiman's wife Inna died days after arriving in Washington last year, after a wait of four years to travel to the United States for treatment.

He was not allowed to attend her funeral.

The Jewish mathematician gained further prominence in May 1987, when he had breakfast with French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, who was on an official visit to Moscow. The French external trade minister, Michel Noir, also met with Mr. Meiman only last Thursday.

Plane Crashes in Siberia; Unspecified Casualties

LD251750 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1728 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—A Yak-40 passenger aircraft, on a flight route from Nizhnevartovsk to Tyumen then to Bugulma, crashed near the airport at Nizhnevartovsk on 24 January. Emergency measures have been taken to rescue the people. Medical assistance is being rendered to the injured. There has been loss of life.

The causes of the crash are being investigated by a special commission of the USSR State Aviation Inspectorate.

The Soviet Government expresses profound condolences to the injured and to the families, relatives, and others close to those who died.

Glasnost Must Not Lead to 'Factionalism,' 'Hype'

PM261559 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88
First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Excerpt] Social responsibility, professional competence, and creative output—these are the paramount qualities demanded from press workers in the promotion of democratization and the assimilation of the economic reform at the new stage. Glasnost has caused an eruption of intellectual activeness but that should not lead to the growth of irresponsibility, tendentiousness, factionalism, and demagoguery. V. Chikin, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, explains in the article opening the January issue of ZHURNALIST.

Positive experience must receive sensible support, not noisy hype—this is the theme of Ya. Tolstikov, author of the article "Are We Not In Too Much of a Hurry to Shout 'Hurrah'?" [passage omitted]

Readers' Letters on History, Repressions

PM201710 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 88
Second Edition pp 1,3

[L. Kurin, G. Matveyets review of readers' letters under the rubric "Pages of History: Reading the Mail": "The Test of Truth"]

[Text] Last year's editorial mail was plentiful. That is only natural: The restructuring affects millions of people. It has made its way imperiously not only into the economy, but also into public awareness. The mail was

particularly rich on the eve of the Great October jubilee and soon after. That is understandable, too. We have 70 years behind us. We have something to be proud of, something to remember, something to think about. There was a great response to the party documents relating to the 70th anniversary of October. We sincerely thank all those who shared their thoughts, reminiscences, and reflections with the newspaper.

First of all we thank party and labor veterans G. Kalachev (Moscow), K. Lepekhin (Buturlinovka, Voronezh Oblast), G. Gryzlov (Tula), T. Zaychenko (Kursk), V. Konkov (Novosibirsk), S. Vakhtin (Kurgan), Ye. Namestnikova (Kostroma), M. Kurakin (Moscow Oblast), M. Yusupov (Leninabad), and V. Popenko (Cherkassy). It is clear even from this far from complete list that the geographical range of the mail was very wide.

Even wider, more diverse, and richer is the variety of professions, life histories, experience, and social position of the authors. N. Kalnik worked as a cutter in the mines of the Donbass, K. Koshkin helped build "Uralmash," M. Shilov's life story is firmly linked to the legendary Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant, Army General N. Lyashchenko fought the fascists in Spain in the ranks of the internationalists, and A. Kokareva, who has 55 years of active party work behind her, survived the siege of Leningrad.

Among those who defended the cause of October on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War were Hero of the Soviet Union P. Kolodyazhnyy, I. Zhidkov, I. Pavlov, A. Bolotov, G. Smetanin, S. Batikyan, N. Golovnev, and many, many more. After the war, despite wounds, disease, and adversity, they worked with all their might to restore the national economy. They are still at their posts. In the destinies, deeds, and simple everyday concerns of the authors of these letters we see the destiny, the history, of a country, a society, a state. These letters are a unique chronicle of socialism. But it was written not by chroniclers and memorialists, but by the toilers of history, the makers of history, the moving forces of history. They wrote it with their own hands, with their minds, talent, boldness, and zeal. N. Kabanets (Kiev), who is the same age as the October Revolution, is absolutely right when he asserts: "Only an advanced, industrious people—a heroic people—could build this new society, eliminate the country's backwardness, and defend the Motherland against fascism."

It has long been known that the people are the creators of history. So successes, achievements, mistakes, and disasters must be measured by the yardstick of the fate of the people who built socialism. This idea is perhaps most aptly expressed in a letter from Muscovite Gennadiy Mefodiyevich Kalachev: "Yes, the party resolutely exposed the personality cult, took steps to eliminate its consequences, and exposed the stagnation and negative phenomena that developed recently. But it never called into question the real results of the Soviet people's

victory in building socialism. We are for glasnost—in the interests of socialism. Those who want to deflect us from this path must realize that it will not work. We will not abandon Lenin's ideas."

The veteran Muscovite is echoed by Viktor Mikhaylovich Chernykh from the city of Lida in Grodno Oblast. In his letter he observes: "Of course, what to write and how is a matter for writers and journalists. What to publish is a matter for the editors. That goes without saying—in the period of glasnost. But glasnost, far from removing, actually presupposes the responsibility of writers, journalists, and editors for the historical materials that are published and for the correct, comprehensive coverage of past events. In the name of the truth of life, in the name of the present, in the name of the future."

The subject of responsibility in the readers' letters merits greater attention. In the report on the 70th anniversary of Great October M.S. Gorbachev said that there must be no "blank spots" in history, but the past must be assessed with a sense of historical responsibility and on the basis of historical truth. Real truth requires special respect, a solicitous attitude, because it is involved with people's destinies, their lives and hopes, their labor and their feats. This is no place for cheap sensationalism, for picking out "piquant facts," or for settling scores.

The mail speaks of this too. Let us look at the most painful letters, letters from those who suffered blamelessly. Let us reread them.

"In 1938, as a member of the party kraykom, I was arrested, groundlessly accused of betraying the Motherland, and sentenced. I spent 15 months in solitary confinement in the Pugachev Tower at the Butyrskaya Prison, then 17 years in the camps in Magadan Oblast. In 1955 my sentence was revoked. Yes, that is how it was. But I was not broken, I did not sink into despair, I was not bitter, I did not become a grumbler and moaner. I and my comrades in misfortune will never forgive what was done to us. But however hard it was on us, we always trusted the people, Soviet power, the party, and we trusted the healthy forces in the people and the party. We trusted them eventually to surmount this terrible nightmare. That gave us strength, patience, courage. That is why we were not broken. That is why we did not betray the Motherland in thought, word, or deed. That is why even today I do not trust those who are prepared to blacken the Leninist ideal that lived on, that glimmered within us and warmed us throughout those terrible years. I will not allow anyone to shame that Leninist ideal. I have every right to say that."

These words were written by Georgiy Aleksandrovich Salamov, a Chekist from 1920. He now lives in Kislovodsk.

Another letter: "Until 1937 I lived in the Far East. Then my father, who worked on the railroads, was arrested. Soon he died in imprisonment, and in 1956 he was rehabilitated. I think everyone will understand what grief, suffering, and hardship I had to suffer and endure. After all, I was the son of an 'enemy of the people.' But I was convinced that my father, a Siberian partisan, a communist of the revolution, could not be an enemy of the power that he himself helped to win. I survived my father's tragedy. I never placed my personal tragedy above the interests of the people and country. Of course, it is hard to rise above personal feelings and emotions. But it is necessary. Such is life."

These words were written by Hero of the Soviet Union Petr Semenovitch Kolodyazhnyy, a Communist and retired colonel. He now lives in the city of Krasnogorsk near Moscow.

When you read these letters, you wonder whether all those who are filling in the "blanks" share the same feeling of responsibility to the people and devotion to the Motherland as these people who suffered. You think about their optimism and indomitability.

It is no empty eloquence that makes the authors of many letters reflect on the optimism born in October, optimism that always survived among the people, even in the most difficult times. Here, for instance, is what Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences V. Gorshkova from Komsomolsk-na-Amure writes: "The people are always right, as one of the great wise men said; right, because their potential has remained wise, profound, enterprising, and creative, even in the years of the personality cult, when voluntarism came into play, and in the period of stagnation." Another, equally apt aphorism could be added to this one: "The masses possess political wisdom, because the people's life is the life of the state." Readers interpret this true idea in their own way.

M. Brovchenko, a participant in the Great Patriotic War: "We remember everything and assess everything correctly. In organizing our lives we must do everything in our power to prevent a repetition of mistakes, and here the people's common intelligence and native wit are needed, as well as memory. But memory should not be used merely to reopen old wounds, sow illusions, stir up passions, and arouse ambition. This is certainly not the best way to use memory..."

Candidate of Historical Sciences S. Gushchin: "I understood the atmosphere of recent years, the atmosphere of stagnation, like all honest people. There are many such people. The present restructuring would be impossible without them. I believed and continue to believe in the party's collective wisdom."

The same sound idea was expressed aptly and subtly by Armed Forces veteran L. Vartanyan: "The fact is that the Soviet people, raised in the spirit of socialism and living by the immortal image of Lenin, are capable, with their

political and moral maturity, of forming a keen insight into any major figure, seeing his weaknesses and errors, and also seeing the extent of his services and giving him due credit for them. Hence the conclusion that the historian, the writer, the journalist, and all of us must study the people's good sense and heed the prevailing opinion among the people, and then there will be fewer excesses."

The ideological and moral charge of Great October was too strong for the party and people to tolerate phenomena that threatened to squander the gains of the revolution. This is the essence of optimism, the essence of the people's wisdom and common sense.

After all, we have learned, assimilating new values both in the economy and in spiritual culture, and we have advanced along the path of progress. We have learned by making mistakes and errors, and by learning lessons even from the grave, tragic periods of our history. We are learning those lessons today, as we advance along the path of restructuring.

But there are letters of a different kind too. It is far more difficult to analyze them. Because they are based on the "either-or" principle. Either black—or white. Either enthusiasm, illumination, and self-sacrifice alone—or errors, abuses of power, and tragedy alone. One of our correspondents erases with sandpaper the representation of Stalin on the medal for victory over Germany. Another tries to justify the tyranny, mass repressions, and lawlessness which nothing can justify or forgive. Others again try to use not sandpaper, but a coarse file and chisel to completely scrape away and dig out whole periods of history, such as collectivization, for instance. Others cannot see and do not want to perceive the excesses, defects, and gross distortions of the principles of collectivization. Works like "Children of the Arbat" send some people into a blind panic and others into indescribable raptures.

Why these extremes? They do not help us in the quest for the real truth, the study of the contradictions of life, the search for true criteria, the evaluation of periods of history and individuals, the interpretation of disputed works of literature and controversial journalism. The readers themselves are thinking about this question too. In the opinion of Doctor of Legal Sciences V. Mushinskiy (Saratov), the reason for the vacillations lies in the "nondialectical nature of ordinary thinking, which fails to see the contradictoriness of life and becomes one-sided through making broad generalizations." V. Bakh-rushin, an engineer from Zaporozhye, adds: "The vacillation in our mass media from one extreme to the other and the taste for sensationalism are directly reflected in public awareness." V. Toloknov from Yaroslavl believes that in the study of history both the thoughtless arrogance of ignorance, naive but deceptive nostalgia for the past, for what has gone, and destructive nihilism and backbiting are equally unacceptable.

Common sense is always on the side of the truth, however harsh it may be. The truth is always better than seductive silences, illusions, conjectures, or emotions. This idea is propounded in the collective letter from Muscovites G. Bashtovoy, A. Belarev, V. Bondarev, Yu. Dmitriyev, I. Zasyepkin, B. Kostylev, and G. Tupitsa. "Nothing is simpler," they write, "when all the consequences are known, than going back to the beginning of events and assessing them; and nothing is more difficult than to grasp them in their totality, in all their contradictoriness, among all the warring forces, the juxtaposition of opinions, information, and facts directly at a given historical moment, in given conditions and a given situation."

True, this dialectic is not easy, but it is the only way to go forward, by analyzing history honestly and drawing conclusions for today.

Hence the question arises: Why are many events and phenomena sometimes assessed and interpreted from standpoints that suit the author, especially when it comes to assessments of the personality cult and the repressions of 1937-1938? Surely there are now too many people who are eager to refute and demolish, who, overturning history, preach: The revolution was accomplished in the wrong way, the civil war was fought in the wrong way, they spoiled the industrialization too, and the Great Patriotic War was fought at the cost of great losses and at the wrong time... Hence the peremptoriness, the reluctance to listen to opponents, the habit of pinning labels on people, and sometimes elementary rudeness.

Is this a misfortune, or a fault? Certainly it is a misfortune. This is indicated by letters whose authors lament: It seems that the so-called "conference" period has been prolonged among historians, the period in which scholars issue appeals, give interviews, express indignation, demolish old ideas, criticize their predecessors and opponents, but do not do much. Where, in fact, do people obtain their historical knowledge today? Let us look at the letters. Student G. Kovaleva read "the truth about our life, about our history" in a literary artistic journal. Engineer B. Charnis cites a less scholarly journal, and Professor V. Skvortsov an item in an ordinary weekly magazine. In a word, nearly all of them refer to periodical publications, monthly and weekly, which have no direct connection with historical science. For better or for worse, these publications are trying at least to fill some of the vacuum that has formed in our knowledge of history. We looked through several hundred letters and did not find in a single one of them any reference (apart from military memoirs) to a popular history book; a documentary account examining some important period and filling in a "blank"; or a pamphlet, to say nothing of monographs. Surely that is the reason for the venomous rejoinder from V. Zenin of the Moscow region. Here is an extract from his letter: "The great Soviet people, who overcame at the cost of incredible efforts the resistance of the enemies of Soviet power, ruin, hunger, poverty,

illiteracy, the fascist invasion, and the postwar devastation, are left without history." You may agree or disagree with this generalization, but there is some reason in the rejoinder.

To conclude the review, let us cite some lines from a letter from G. Troitskaya: "If we want glasnost to be genuine, Leninist, Bolshevik (what a fine word!), if we want the restructuring to break down all the barriers in the paths of our society's development, we must undergo tempering by the truth, by the great, heroic, terrible truth of our history." Precisely: the test of truth.

So, to sum up. History, as M.S. Gorbachev said at the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with leaders of the mass media, ideological institutions, and creative unions, is a very rich science. The more we turn to it, the more we understand what we must do, today and tomorrow.

The CPSU Central Committee October Plenum gave an all-around assessment of the 70-year path trodden by the party and country and described the restructuring, in its broad historical context, as an active continuation, under new conditions, of the revolutionary renewal of society and the maximum uncovering of the social potential and humane nature of socialism.

The root and purport of the restructuring is the truth, both sweet and bitter. Judging by the many thousands of letters the newspaper has received, the Soviet people are eager for the restructuring, ready for it. They are ready to undergo the test of truth. And only truth.

Youth Paper Spotlights Stalin Victim of 1949
PM201435 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 15 Jan 88 p 2

[A. Afanasyev article "The Victor"—boldface as published]

[Text] In January 1945 he was elected first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom and Gorkom. This was essentially in recognition of the role he had played in the defence of the city and the breaching of the blockade, in the victory over the enemy. Four years later A.A. Kuznetsov was subjected to reprisals in the 'Leningrad Case'...

During those months which were to prove so difficult for the Kuznetsov family, Uncle Sima had brought a very fashionable game to Moscow from Leningrad. It was called "Jenkins." The family gathered round the dining table and divided into two teams. One team put their hands on the table. The other team had to guess under whose hand a coin or a scrap of paper was hidden. Focusing his eyes on the players one by one, the captain of the other team shouted loudly "Show your hands!" If there was no scrap of paper (or coin) all the players laughed. The captain shouted again: "Show your hands!"

And so on, over and over again.

The family did not know, could not have known, that during those months other players at other tables were playing another, not quite so innocent a game.

On 15 February 1949 Aleksey Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov, secretary of the VKP(B) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] Central Committee, arrived at work as usual to find a paper on his desk which indicated that he had been relieved of his post.

On the same day, 15 February, A.A. Kuznetsov's successor in Leningrad, First Secretary of the Obkom and Gorkom Petr Sergeyevich Popkov was summoned to Moscow to a Politburo session from which he returned in a distraught state, completely crushed.

That very day, 15 February, there was to be a celebration in the Kuznetsov family. The celebration was not called off. A festive table was laid. The Kuznetsovs' elder daughter Alla was marrying Sergo, Mikoyan's son. Aleksey Aleksandrovich arrived. He looked his usual self: cheerful, energetic, smart.

There was no feeling of tragedy.

Nor the next day when the guest left and Aleksey Aleksandrovich's wife Zinaida Dmitriyevna gathered the children and said quietly: "Children, father has been removed from his post. Everything will be cleared up, of course..."

The tragedy was kept from the children during the whole of the following 6 months.

Aleksey Aleksandrovich began reading a great deal. Did he have any idea what was happening in Leningrad? You could see in his eyes that he was weighing something up, making comparisons, pondering something. But he remained confident and calm and collected. Or perhaps he was simply showing to those who were watching him at that time by his comportment: Kuznetsov is confident, he is not afraid, and hence he does not feel any guilt before the people and the party?

On 21 February (a day after Aleksey Aleksandrovich's birthday) Georgiy Maksimilianovich Malenkov, effectively Number Two in the party, went to Leningrad. On the 22d Malenkov delivered a report to a joint plenum of the obkom and gorkom on the anti-party activities of Comrade A.A. Kuznetsov, member of the Central Committee, and Candidate Members of the Central Committee Comrades M.I. Rodionov (Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers) and P.S. Popkov.

On 25 February Yosif Mikhaylovich Turko, first secretary of the Yaroslavl Obkom, who had earlier worked in Leningrad was called away from the presidium of a party conference and summoned to the Central Committee.... Malenkov got up from the desk and, with his hands

behind his back, met Turko with the question: "Don't try to play any tricks on the party Central Committee. There was a group, wasn't there?..."

In March another man from Leningrad, Academician Nikolay Alekseyevich Voznesenskiy, was removed from the Politburo and relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

Six months from 15 February to 13 August, condensed into 6 hours. Six hours of an account given by Galina Alekseyevna, Kuznetsov's daughter.

Some time later Aleksey Aleksandrovich was summoned to the Central Committee. That was in March... No, probably later. On 8 March we were allowed to invite boys to our girls' school (in those days we were taught separately). Galya was getting ready for the party. Mother suggested cautiously: "Maybe you ought not to go?" "Why ever not?!" Galya asked, surprised.

The family was told about the tragedy bit by bit. Father was sent to Perkhushkovo. He came home looking pleased and set about packing his things: "My dream has come true. I am going to study!..."

The family visited him by taxi. I recall: Father was billeted on the second floor, in a narrow room which looked like a cell. There was an iron bedstead. I recall: At that time, for some reason, mostly ageing generals appeared to be studying there. They were full of praise for Aleksey Aleksandrovich's excellent performance.

Only later, Galina Alekseyevna says, I found out that all the students were prisoners.

On 21 July Abakumov, minister of state security (Beria's right-hand man) reported to Stalin that Yakov Fedorovich Kapustin who had been removed back in February from the post of second secretary of the Leningrad Gorkom was a British spy, no less. What was the evidence? Back in the thirties Kapustin, then a senior foreman at the Kirovskiy plant, visited Britain to study the production of steam turbines.

On 10 August Galya arrived by taxi in Perkhushkino to visit her father. The course in Perkhushkino had come to an end. Without hiding his pleasure father said: "Children, I have lived up to your expectations! I have got top grades in everything!" Pleased with himself, he showed us the kit that had been issued to him. So it was not a game after all? It was all true then? Did this mean that everything really would be sorted out?

Adam Osipovich Karshenik, member of the VKP(B) since 1904, who acted as a referee for Aleksey Kuznetsov when he applied for party membership, stressed a constant striving for clarity as a key feature of his character.

Many years later, through the prism of his tragic fate, it becomes obvious that it was from this quality that his strength and also his undoing would spring as if from a seed ...

By mid-August it was not only in Perkhushkino that courses had come to an end. On the 13th, Aleksey Aleksandrovich went for a walk in Moscow taking the younger children with him. The scene, as described later by Uncle Sima was as follows: Kuznetsov, laughing with the children, was walking in front. A few steps behind, unobtrusively, two plainclothesmen.

They returned home in time for dinner. Aleksey Aleksandrovich went to wash his hands. Zinaida Dmitriyevna told him in a low voice: "Lenyushka, there was a call to you from...." (She gave the name of a man who was working at the Party Control Commission at the time). Aleksey Aleksandrovich came out of the bathroom visibly pale. But he quickly collected himself. In the hall he kissed his wife and children. The door closed behind him.

He smiled and waved his hand in the street. Nothing special had happened, it seemed.

We waited for his return, we laid the table. Mother kept repeating like an incantation: "Don't worry children, everything will be all right." Toward the evening a strange car stopped under our windows. It was still light. So we could see determined-looking men in black suits and hats get out of the car.

The door bell rang. The door was thrown open. The first question (the most important question perhaps?) they asked on the threshold was: "Where is the letter?!"

I am sitting with Galina Alekseyevna at a large dinner table covered with a white tablecloth. It is not the same table, of course. Nor the same apartment. We are looking at photographs: "Here is father back in Borovichi. At 14 he started working at the local sawmill where his father was also employed... Here he is as secretary of the district Komsomol committee... And here he is with mother when they were first married and Alla was born... And here in Luga as secretary of the okrug Komsomol committee... Do you know how old he was when he was elected second secretary of the Leningrad Party Gorkom? Only 33! A meteoric rise, a brilliant career. It is all contained in a couple of photograph albums, and in two wartime diaries of mother's brother, uncle Sima (during the blockade Serafim Dmitriyevich Voinov was adjutant—there was such a post in those years—of Member of the Leningrad Front Military Council Kuznetsov.)

Also on the table is a bulky folder containing inventories and documents issued to the family after arrests—both father's and mother's and various searches, and a few letters. That is all that is left. Father's letters? No, father

was denied the right of correspondence. They are mother's letters from Vladimir, from the former tsarist convict prison. Official protocols are all that is left of father's. During the search they tore up all his papers. They even tore up a "Gertsegovina Flor" cigarette packet. Aleksey Aleksandrovich had kept it since 1940. The man himself [Stalin] had autographed the packet and given it to him. And the letter? Stalin's letter?

The letter is not here... I am leafing through Serafim Dmitriyevich Voinov's diaries. I am listening to Galina Alekseyevna, and I am beginning to unravel the top layer of the plot behind the "Leningrad Case." It is transparent, but it was put together nevertheless with great skill.

Voinov who was also tried in this "case" describes the rules which were usually followed in this game: "The suspect was made to feel isolated. The atmosphere at the institution or plant where he worked changed gradually. Whoever got on the list began to feel that an invisible hand was creating trouble for him at work... However, he was unable to find out the real reason. He began to lose his nerve and make mistakes in his work, thus adding to his troubles... I got on to the list of those who had to be denounced at any price. I was among those who were to appear before the judge branded as antisocial elements, drunkards, morally unstable, or corrupt. These people also included those who **having fallen into the set snares** of infringement of official duties were not only slandered and denounced but also made **responsible before the law and the people** (my emphasis—A.A.).

This means that people were not simply picked up and put behind bars. "Cases" were prepared painstakingly, slowly, sometimes for years. Kuznetsov's case took at least 6 months "to prepare." Voinov even thought that the roots of the "Leningrad Case" dated back to 1941, to the blockade. But its formal beginning was January 1949.

In December 1948 an oblast and city party conference was held in Leningrad. There it was announced that the obkom and gorkom secretaries had been unanimously re-elected. Shortly afterwards an anonymous letter was dispatched to Moscow: The members of the commission that had counted the votes had noticed that "the names of Popkov, Kapustin, and Badayev had been crossed out on many of the ballot papers." That was definitely the case. Kapustin—later to be denounced as a "British spy"—received most of the negative votes, 15 to be precise. What was the reason for this deception? Was it a spontaneous desire to keep the figures positive? Or was it the same trap coming into operation? After all, a hint to the appropriate quarter would have been enough: Why spoil the reputation of the cradle of the revolution! And later the raw fact could have been dragged out for public discussion....

No, we will not claim that this is what happened. It is very difficult now to establish who was behind the deception and what his motives were. Anyhow, the affair

with the votes served as the main pretext. The well-oiled machine was set in motion, the first move had been made. The second came in January 1949 when an all-Russian wholesale fair was held in Leningrad. Union republics also took part in it. Was it then not an all-union fair? Had this been sanctioned by the central organs? No. Consequently this could be described as an act of squandering and the even more serious accusation of cliquism, of people setting themselves up against the Central Committee, could be made. The third move came when P.S. Popkov, a totally inexperienced party official who had risen to senior posts, was, it seems, subjected to brainwashing just like Kuznetsov, but with completely different results.

I read in Voinov's notes: "Shortly before January 1949... I saw Popkov. In was in the Smolnyy, in Kuznetsov's office with which I was so familiar. I was taken aback at Popkov's appearance. A sick man was sitting behind the desk where Kirov and Kuznetsov had sat. I was particularly struck by his darting eyes and the pathetic smile of a broken man which evoked condescending pity." What did Petr Sergeyevich say in this frame of mind, and to whom? I wonder whether he himself could remember. In any case, his statements and interviews formed the basis of the third accusation alleging that Kuznetsov and Popkov "hatched the idea of founding a Communist Party of Russia."

The first round of the game revolved around these three facts. Then followed the second round—the investigation. Another player—the minister of state security, no less—joined the game. How was the investigation conducted? How do you think it was conducted since there was no power in the world that could have checked its objectivity? How else could it have ended since the following iron rules took precedence over written laws: The confession of the accused forms the main evidence; the key factor is the inner conviction of the investigator; an enemy of the people is not worthy of being treated like a party comrade...

While Turko was still only a suspect, his investigator, mingling the methods of a shaman and a hypnotist, screamed: "If you won't confess, it means that you are waging a struggle against the Party Central Committee..." Let us stop and think. There was no room for suspects. Basically, everyone was automatically guilty from the outset along the lines: "You are an enemy if only for the reason that you refuse to admit it!"

The outcome was that A.A. Kuznetsov, N.A. Voznesenskiy, M.I. Rodionov, P.S. Popkov, and Ya.F. Kapustin were sentenced to capital punishment. A little later, in Leningrad the same fate befell G.F. Badayev, the obkom second secretary; I.S. Kharitonov, chairman of the oblistpolkom; P.N. Kubatkin, Ministry of State Security agent in Leningrad Oblast; and P.I. Levin, gorkom secretary... and throughout the country other people who had formerly worked in Leningrad—M.V. Basov, chairman of the RSFSR Gosplan; A.D. Verbitskiy, second

secretary of the Murmansk Obkom; and N.V. Solovyev, first secretary of the Crimea Obkom... In all punitive measures were applied to more than 200 people in the "Leningrad Case." In the course of 3 years more than 2,000 leaders were removed from their posts (more detailed documentary information based on party archive material was published in the Leningrad DIALOG Nos 18-19, 1987).

The machine, now proceeding at full tilt, was crushing what remained of the sacred axioms which are respected by the legal profession throughout the world. The next to be sacrificed after the presumption of innocence was the lawyer's cardinal rule that "law cannot be applied retroactively." The point is that capital punishment had been abolished in the country at the time when Kuznetsov and others who were later executed were arrested, and in accordance with the aforementioned civilized rule they should have been tried in accordance with the law which was in force at the time of their arrest. But...capital punishment was brought back and the people in question were executed.

Vladimir Nikolayevich Bazovskiy, currently chief of the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Control Main Administration, who was a Leningrad Komsomol Raykom secretary at the time, described to me how young Komsomol secretaries were removed for "incorrect education" although they had only just been decorated with orders for fruitful work in the communist education of young people...

It was from Vladimir Nikolayevich that I first learned that when Kuznetsov was elected Party Central Committee secretary, he was apparently "put in charge of cadres." Prior to Kuznetsov, cadres (including the cadres in Beria's department) were managed by Georgiy Maksimilianovich [Malenkov] personally, who was then elected to the Politburo. In other words, Malenkov was pushed out of the cadre post, as it were, because of Kuznetsov...

Kuznetsov knew it. He saw it. He could not possibly have not known and seen it. Yet according to Turko's reminiscences, on becoming Central Committee secretary and taking charge of the cadres, instead of taking maximum precautions for his safety, he began to criticize... Malenkov. What is more, not behind closed doors (although that would have been enough) but openly, with glasnost, as we would say now. As if that was not enough, Bazovskiy recalls, he began to take a serious interest in Abakumov's department.

What was going on in his head? Was he really merely naive?

A certain amount of time had passed since Aleksey Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov's arrest. But as early as fall 1949, specific incriminating material about him was ready at the Ministry of State Security. For one thing a need was felt to try and explain at least somehow the absurd situation which had arisen. For another, this

furnished an opportunity to "investigate" not only the Kuznetsovs but also the Mikoyan family. So in fall, Sergo Anastasovich [Mikoyan's son] relates, father sat me down facing him over a table. Fully aware of the fact that the room might be bugged, father with a completely expressionless face started reading what purported to be Kuznetsov's testimony to the investigator...

The "confession" contained no references to acts of terrorism or admissions of "involvement" with foreign intelligence services as was frequently the case in the trials of 1937. The gravest "admission" for that time was: "We did not like Stalin..." At that point Sergo asked his father whether he did not think that all this could have been made up by the investigator. In a monotonous voice his father explained to him that this was not possible since every page bore Kuznetsov's signature. Furthermore the statement included expressions which are not likely to be used by investigators. Father spoke convincingly, but judging by the expression on his face it was possible to guess that he hardly believed himself what he was saying. All right, the son said, but these are, at worst, thoughts expressed aloud. Where are the hard facts!? There could be no doubt that Aleksey Alekseyevich would be pronounced innocent! Naturally, his father did not reply to this. He merely raised his eyebrows. And his son understood that in principle the sentence had already been passed. His father added: I cannot forbid you, of course, to visit the Kuznetsovs. (What next, the son thought. Do you think I would obey you?) But you must be careful in conversation with Zinaida Dmitriyevna... At first Sergo took this as advice not to upset Zinaida Dmitriyevna by talking about her husband. Only when Zinaida Dmitriyevna was arrested he surmised that his father may have known that this was already on the cards.

I am listening to Sergo Anastasovich. Naively I ask:

"Why did he talk to you in the apartment? Why did he not choose another, more suitable place? In a park, for instance, where he could have explained things in detail?"

Just put yourself in my position, Sergo Anastasovich smiles sadly. I was 19, a student, a young and inexperienced person. If father had openly told me everything he was thinking, I might have blabbed something out to someone in the heat of an argument. Consequently he would thus have endangered all our lives!

Obviously, it was more sensible to talk where the conversation could be eavesdropped on...

This episode is a good illustration of the atmosphere, time, and situation in which people, even people holding high state posts, found themselves. It is difficult for us to imagine the price they had to pay for the simplest human emotions. On the eve of Sergo and Alla's wedding, I was told, Kaganovich had a word with Mikoyan: What are you doing, they are done for!

However, the wedding was not cancelled.

When the arrests and executions began, the sons of many of those against whom punitive measures were applied were put into special children's homes. Kuznetsov's son was kept hidden at Mikoyan's dacha. When they arrested Zinaida Dmitriyevna, they did not touch the children—it has been said that this was because Mikoyan had asked Stalin...

As I am thinking about all this, Aleksey Aleksandrovich's actions become even more incomprehensible. What motivated him? What explanation is there? In order to understand, it is necessary to take a closer look at his inner, spiritual life.

It is 22 June 1941. Zhdanov is on vacation, he is having a rest down south. The whole burden of responsibility for the fate of Leningrad is borne by the 36-year-old gorkom second secretary. Ahead lies the construction of defense fortifications and the organization of the citizen's daily life; the formation of the people's resistance and the selection of military cadres; the formation of the partisan detachments and the leadership of the political directorates of the front and the fleet. These are the matters to which Kuznetsov attended every day.

Stalin takes an unprecedented step. In the presence of his close circle he writes a letter in his own hand. And to whom? To the gorkom second secretary! The gist of the letter is as follows: Voroshilov and Zhdanov are tired, worn out... They must be allowed to sleep, to rest... In everything that concerns the organization of defense and the mobilization of all forces I have only you to rely on...

This was a recognition of Kuznetsov's true role in that situation. The letter was delivered by an NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] general to Kuznetsov, by-passing Voroshilov and Zhdanov. Naturally, many people knew about the letter. In the circumstances of that time such a letter meant colossal power. It was a letter of credence and safe conduct at the same time. There was, it seems, also another underlying motive. Such a letter could drive a wedge between Kuznetsov and Zhdanov. All the more so since there were more than enough opportunities for this. During the grim winter of 1942 Zhdanov fell ill. Kuznetsov placed a guard in front of his house: At a time when no Leningrad citizen was supposed to notice a manifestation of any weakness on the part of the leaders. Kuznetsov led the obkom and gorkom bureaus on behalf of Zhdanov. He rang and talked to Stalin on behalf of Zhdanov. Stalin understood the significance of this situation. So did Zhdanov.

It must be assumed that none of this escaped Beria's department either. His eyes and ears could not fail to notice that the leader's pictures were disappearing from walls. Leningraders began to use his name less and less, both verbally and in writing. Voinov notes: "The time of the blockade and starvation marked a turning point in public consciousness."

Essentially, it was the unique conditions of the city which found itself on the verge of death which speeded up the process of moral purification and reassessment of values. The cult which seemed indestructible and inescapable, was dying of its own accord. The city was clearly unearthing another ideal from the depths and juxtaposing it to the official one. A poet of that time merely stridently underlined this with the title of his poem "Kirov Is With Us!!!" According to Tikhonov, the poet, it was Kirov, not Stalin, who was marching with the Leningraders during the iron nights [v zheleznykh nochakh—allusion unknown].

Is it possible that Kuznetsov did not see this? And if he saw it, what did he do about it? Let us put ourselves in his position at that time... Strictly speaking, in his position he should have, if not shown support, at least created a semblance of the immutability of the status quo.

But let us not forget his constant striving for clarity. Let us not forget something else: The unique conditions of the blockade, reshaping social consciousness, enabled an independent, assertive, strong character to manifest itself and grow stronger. It was **that kind** of character that was needed in those circumstances. It needed an individual able to make decisions, independent of authoritative opinion and the range of views and deployment of forces at the top. (In fact, it was **this alone** that ensured the preservation of authoritative opinion and the people at the top themselves!).

If we bear this in mind it will become clearer why Kuznetsov, who had a direct line to Stalin, like everyone else, stopped mentioning his name; why he stopped referring to him; why the name disappeared from newspaper articles and speeches; why Kuznetsov cited Kirov; and why the Kuznetsovs always kept photographs of Sergey Mironovich [Kirov] (although Stalin's attitude to him was no big secret for many people even at that time).

It becomes clearer, why. But the question remains: Why?

In current articles about people who suffered in one way or another during the cult period one idea is being constantly emphasized for some reason: They were **innocent victims of tyranny**. There is some truth in this. But let us stop and think: We are trying so hard to prove this, as if the degree of their innocence had diminished somewhat since the 20th party congress.

What do we want: To prove what has been proved? Make compatible the incongruent?

Probably not. Of course not!

But if this is the case, is it not time to make it clear before whom they were innocent? Before the party and the people? Yes! But before the criminals, adventurers, and

careerists who perpetrated the tyranny? The Yezhovs, Berias, and Abakumovs? After all, the tragedy and the truth of that time is not exhausted by the absence of guilt, is it?

There must have been people who did not take the cult on trust? Who did not accept it? Who, ultimately, did oppose it?

I venture to believe and to claim: Aleksey Aleksandrovich was no innocent victim.

Does this mean that the authors of the "Leningrad Case" were right? No, the situation is more complex and involved than that. He was no enemy of the people. But judging by appearances neither was he a naive person who obediently played the role assigned to him.

"The following has to be taken into account to understand the origins of the 'Leningrad Case,'" eyewitness S.D. Voinov, who was directly involved in the events, writes. "After all, the main points of the case were: Kuznetsov's 'pitting himself against' the Central Committee (for Central Committee read Stalin); the demand for greater independence in economic matters for every oblast and kray; recognition of the great services of the Russian Federation; the organization of the exhibition of achievements, the first achievements of Leningrad under reconstruction; and last but not least, the fact that the newly appointed Central Committee secretary displayed independence and a serious approach to the task of checking out Beria's ministry..."

"In general, what was the essence of the 'Leningrad Case,' and what were the even deeper reasons which brought about this and other similar 'cases'? If I am asked this question I reply: It was necessary to hide from the people the true culprits of our military defeat in 1941 when the Germans cut through the territory of our country like a knife through butter. It was necessary to hide the culprits of the distortions in our agriculture which caused the peasants to desert the kolkhozes because of need, because the product of their labor was valued at less than its cost. Finally, it was necessary to hide the true culprits of the lawlessness and tyranny to which thousands upon thousands of people fell victim. This was why 'cases' such as the 'Leningrad case,' the 'doctors' case,' and many, many others which have remained nameless but which could be described as 'kray,' 'oblast,' and sometimes even 'rayon' cases were fabricated..."

I think there was one other reason. There was not only a persistent need to switch public attention, to defuse the "tension," and to pin responsibility for the umpteenth time on the innocent. There was an urgent need to put the front-line generation, who had come out of the war victorious and mature, in their "place." This was a generation that had acquired moral strength at the price of immense suffering. A generation that essentially predetermined the phenomenon of the 20th Congress.

Incidentally, lets take things in order...

In March 1946, when Kuznetsov was elected a secretary of the VKP(B) Central Committee, there was a break with tradition and he was not left as first secretary of the gorkom and obkom, as had been the case with Zinoviyev, Kirov, and Zhdanov. This alone should have placed Kuznetsov on his guard (and eyewitnesses report that he received the news with no joy). But there was also another overtone, which we have already stated: Kuznetsov, who had no experience of working in the Central Committee apparatus, was immediately entrusted with supervision of Ministry of State Security and MVD cadres.

This was the second point which amazed Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan (the first was Stalin's letter written to Kuznetsov of "blockade" fame). The third striking point was that one day, relaxing at Lake Ritsa, Stalin surprised his entourage by sharing his thoughts. I have grown old, he said, as if overcome by frankness. And I'm thinking about my successors. The most suitable successor for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers would be Nikolay Alekseyevich Voznesenskiy. The most suitable for the post of general secretary would be Aleksey Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov... Well, you do not object, comrades?

Nobody objected, as the expression goes. But, we must imagine that everyone who learned about this sensational idea would immediately have conjectured about its other side: This secretive man would have had an ulterior motive for deciding to openly discuss the idea. Essentially, if one reflects on it, the names that had been put together were indeed most deserving and most suitable, and were therefore the most dangerous competitors for those at whom the statement was deliberately directed. The result was predictable. However, did not this predictability further bolster Aleksey Aleksandrovich?

Having received so many disguised warnings, Kuznetsov did not become any more careful. He did not change his previous habits and did not even try to subdue his independent character. Moreover, he actually protested the then generally accepted norm of the cult. Stalin's name was not mentioned in his postwar speeches. He continued to refer to Kirov. After the war he openly visited Sergey Mironovich's severely ill widow (these were difficult meetings with a woman who had lost her mind as a result of her husband's death). He almost made a point of meeting with instructors and working out their postings. Once, leading the secretariat, he there and then demoted a general who had been caught robbing camps.

He was renowned as a rare bird. With the naked eye it was clearly obvious, even at a distance, that a real Kirovite had appeared in Moscow. And how! The leader of the city blockade, a frontline soldier, and a winner. He continued to strengthen his reputation.

And what a reputation! As the person in charge, he held a conference for state security staffers where he criticized them(!) and set them(!) new tasks. An eyewitness impression was that the conference came like a bolt from the blue.

Finally, the last straw. At the time it was common to work at nights and on Sundays. So Aleksey Aleksandrovich ordered state security minister Abakumov to bring court cases to his dacha on Sundays. And Abakumov brought them, in folders.

What kind of cases were they? Against the "enemies of the people," in particular, those of 1937. It is said that Kuznetsov set himself the goal of getting to the bottom of the involved case of the murder of Kirov.

Was he emphasizing his independence? Was he trying to clear everything up, if only for his own satisfaction, to get to the bottom of things? Or had he already started fighting?...

He did not make it. His opponents and enemies got there first.

He kissed his wife and children on the doorstep (this is no sign of fate. They always did this). And before leaving he said: "Go buy some ice cream. Lay the table. I'll be back for dinner."

He did not come back for dinner. He did not come back at all.... "A.A. Kuznetsov, date of birth 1905, arrested according to orders...." When the protocol was given to the family to sign, Galya saw the word "arrested" for the first time and turned pale. But her mother signed it demonstratively without even reading: "No complaints were made by the prisoner or any other persons present (specify identity) during the search." No one could complain, and there was nobody to complain to. The form was correct, and it was filled with infernal thoroughness: "The following items confiscated for delivery to the USSR Ministry of State Security:

"Orders of Lenin—2;

"Order of the Red Banner—1;

"Order of Kutuzov, 1st Class—1;

"Order of Kutuzov, 2d Class—1;

"Order of the Patriotic War, 1st Class—1;

"Medals 'For the Defense of Leningrad'—2;

"Medal 'To Partisans in the Patriotic War'—1;

"Shoulder boards, general's rank—7 pairs;

"Men's boots, leather—1 pair;

"Tooth powder—I can;

"Toothbrush—I."

This depressing list makes something inside you shudder. No, it was not just a matter of picking up someone. All traces of his existence were destroyed. Any sign of his presence in this life, on this earth.

When sentence was passed on them, Kuznetsov neither repented nor begged forgiveness. When leaving [the courtroom], he could only have felt victorious. According to eyewitness testimony, Aleksey Aleksandrovich's last words were: "I was and will remain a Bolshevik, no matter what sentence you may pass, history will vindicate us...."

Later on.... Later on, Galina Alekseyevna narrates in an even voice, their mother was taken away. The search was even more humiliating: They even went through the children's belongings. The family was left alone with the paralyzed grandmother. How they lived and survived is another story. They searched. They wrote. They called on people. They went to the address indicated in the search protocol ("For all inquiries contact... Kuznetskiy Most No 24, entrance through yard"). At long last, mother wrote a letter, then another, and a third.... Not a single word to say how she was or what was happening to her.

Stalin died. Beria was arrested.

Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan asked Alla on two occasions: Is your mother back yet? She returned one evening, on 10 February 1954. Weighing just 48 kg. White hair. Unsteady on her feet. Galya telephoned Mikoyan. Alla came running in. And it was only in the doorway that she admitted to Galya: "Don't tell mother. But our father is dead...." When? Where? Galya wanted to find out, but Anastas Ivanovich advised against it: "Don't do it unless you want to damage your health. You won't find him."

Mother only began speaking after the 20th congress. She recounted.... How she first spent time in solitary confinement, in shackles.

How later on she shared the same cell with Galina Serebryakova and Lidiya Ruslanova. They were allowed to receive parcels—small, but parcels nevertheless. We kept her alive as best as we could, on processed cheese.

Later on, two of them, the two wives, were summoned—Voznesenskaya and Kuznetsova. They made their way and had no idea that they were no longer wives but widows.... They were told that they were being released. If truth be told, they took this at first as just another taunt. But they started getting ready....

There were, of course, all sorts of people there. One investigator yelled at her during interrogation, doing everything by the book. Then he turned the radio at full volume and told her: "Zinaida Dmitriyevna! I don't believe the things that I am asking you!" There was also a supervisor who, many years later, joyfully jumped off a trolleybus and ran toward her. She wanted to stop, to have a chat. But she could not. She walked on, just exchanged greetings.

She always talked about her husband as if making an incantation: "I did not bury Lenyushka. No." Or: "I always feel that he has simply been posted on some major assignment.... There will be a telephone call sometime, and he'll come back."

When Stalin died, Galya sobbed loudly. She was told: Why are you weeping? You'll see, everything will be cleared up now! Indeed, Anastas Ivanovich called them to the dacha and said: Your father was no enemy of the people. You must know that!

So, everything was cleared up.

Time was to pass, and Kuznetsov was to be officially rehabilitated. Even a memorial plaque was put up on the block at Granovskiy Street, where Aleksey Aleksandrovich spent the last years of his life.

Galina Alekseyevna holds the search protocols in her hands. They clearly show the serial number of the order for her father's arrest. It seems to me that now she is thinking about those who came before this number—1075—and after it....

I also recall the last sentence of the famous letter. Could the devious mind have known what a penetratingly truthful idea it was expressing? Could the merciless hand, which had started dealing another game, have known what bitterly prophetic words it was penning? These words, just like the number 1075, are for ever engraved, carved, and embossed in the family's memory.

"Aleksey, the motherland will never forget you!", Stalin's hand had written in the letter. This trace cannot be erased from memory, this testimony cannot be erased from history. It is indelible.

Briefs

AIDS Laboratories

Laboratories for AIDS diagnosis have been set up in 105 Soviet cities, according to a spokesman for the Health Ministry. Although only several AIDS cases have been registered in this country, all-round measures are being taken to prevent the killer disease. A system has been developed to examine donors and separate groups of population, including foreigners and Soviet citizens who have returned from abroad. Popular lectures about AIDS

have been organized and have been included into school curricula. Research in AIDS control is being intensified. [Text] [Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 24 Jan 88 LD]

TV, Telephone Relay

The distant village of Shepte, on the Mangyshlak peninsula, has been linked with Shevchenko by a 100-km radio relay line carrying color television and tens of telephone conversations at the same time. The line is powered by solar-powered accumulators, which ensure reliable operation, even at night and in overcast weather. Scientists at the Radio Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Communications have developed equipment capable of two-way transmission of two television programs or telephone conversations. The new relayers soon will be manufactured serially for areas of the country enjoying the maximum sunshine. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Jan 88 LD]

Economic

Rytov on Goskomstat 1987 Fulfillment Report

PM261537 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the "Statistics and Our Commentary" rubric: "State Orders for Goods"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that the volume of retail trade turnover in 1987 amounted to R341,147 million. That represents 96.5% of the plan. Only four union republics—Belorussia, Lithuania, Moldavia, and Estonia—met their retail trade turnover targets.

We received the statistics report at the very last moment. I had to hurriedly rewrite my commentary. Essentially everything had indicated that we would not cope with the trade turnover plan. The lag over the whole year was too great. Yet there was a hope that we would put on a bit of a spurt in December and narrow the gap. It did not happen...

Minus 3.5%, that is a very great deal when hundreds of billions are at stake. We undershot by roughly R12.5 billion! Retail trade turnover serves as an accurate barometer of our economic climate. If it (along with paid services) lags behind the amount of money in circulation, that constitutes a really serious problem.

That means old debts will have to be repaid this year. Extra goods will have to be produced to meet this year's plan. How many? Let us look at the figures. The target for retail trade turnover is R363 billion. That is R9.3 billion more than last year's plan. Thus, together with the debts to be made up, we must produce almost R22 billion extra. A colossal sum! Is such a task realistic? How is it to be solved?

Let us again look at the plan figures. Some R142.3 billion of food has to be produced. That is 3.6% more than envisaged by the 5-year plan targets. We must produce industrial goods worth R119.9 billion (a R7.8 billion increase over the 5-year plan target). Light industry must produce goods worth R92.8 billion in retail prices (a 4.9% increase). What is the answer? Let us do the sums. If you total up the value of all three groups, you get R355 billion. A shortfall of R8 billion against the plan target.

Does that mean there is a "gap" in the plan?

"No," A.G. Yanklan, USSR Ministry of Trade Economic Planning Administration deputy chief, explained. "The value of the goods which you have mentioned represents state orders. But in addition trade will receive goods under direct contracts with enterprises. Including above-plan output. There is no 'gap' in the plan. The state orders have been fully placed among sectors."

An optimistic explanation, surely?

V.A. Prokopenko, Ministry of the Automotive Industry Consumer Goods Administration chief, is of quite another mind.

"We have received state orders for goods worth over R13 billion," he said. "This includes goods worth R9 billion for sale to the population. What do these figures mean to us? They indicate quite obvious planning errors. They have automatically added 9% to our last year's baseline. That might seem like realistic growth. However, automobiles account for the lion's share of the value of our consumer goods. The increase in output of them—according to that same state order—is not very substantial. We therefore have to increase the output of all remaining consumer goods by 40%—almost half! Instead of real output many of our plants now have a sheer 'gap' in their plans. There is no products list nor supply of resources."

A state order is a state order. You can't reject it. The ministry has obediently allocated targets to its plants. Some get bigger targets than others, but virtually all the targets contain a "hole."

Fortunately, the matter did not stop there. The ministry found a constructive solution to the problem. It is a very simple and very realistic solution. The Ministry of the Automotive Industry suggested redistributing—as compared with the target—among state enterprises, organizations, and the population some of the automobiles to be produced and increasing the sale of automobiles that are in great demand and command a high retail price.

The Ministry of the Automotive Industry proposes selling to the population UAZ jeeps and even RAF minibuses, which should suit cooperative members. Incidentally, such an experiment has already been conducted: The population has been sold a consignment of 50 minibuses. They went in a matter of minutes! Yet their retail price is R30,000...

What is the fate of these proposals? We do not yet know. They are up in the air, so to speak.

In my view, however, the Ministry of the Automotive Industry proposals go far beyond the problems of a single sector. They are of fundamental significance. This is not the first year that we have talked about cutting the management apparatus while continuing with uncommon generosity to furnish this very apparatus with cars, color televisions, expensive lamps....

I think the time has come to fully apply the "leftover principle" to the supply of goods to institutions. Let goods go first to the population! Then, if any remain, to the offices. As for automobiles and expensive equipment.... Here, in my opinion, we must act even more resolutely than the Ministry of the Automotive Industry proposes.

I must repeat once again that urgent and decisive measures are needed. There are many "gaps" in retail trade turnover, this is no time to take it easy.

Competition Producers' 'Main Incentive'
PM251106 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by Ivan Tselishchev, MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA deputy chief editor under the rubric "This Space Every Day": "Is Competition To Be Feared?"]

[Text] In terms of orientation, our economic reform falls into the pattern of progressive worldwide trends in economic development and is international in character. The tasks we are resolving require a serious attitude, what I would call a thoughtful and constructive attitude, to international experience. How can an economy be managed efficiently? The ways of resolving this problem, despite the fundamental differences in social systems, are in many respects similar for all the developed countries, and now perhaps even for a number of developing countries, too. That is one manifestation of the unity of the modern world. The tasks of increasing the return on resources, satisfying demand, and increasing profits are set everywhere. It is gratifying that we have at last overcome a rather ashamed, disdainful attitude to the term profit, and realized that without profit there can be no efficiency (who the profits belong to and how they are distributed is another matter).

A question of paramount importance for many economies is that of incentives for enterprises' activity.

Many capitalist countries are now taking the path of reducing taxes on firms, seeking to stimulate capital investments. Enterprises, both state and private, are less and less regulated in such spheres as pricing, determining the range of output (including diversification), credit and interest rates, ways of using profits, and the establishment of business relations with other enterprises.

What about state departments? World experience indicates that virtually no economy can operate without active work by ministries and other state organs. Of course, the question of their optimum structure and functions is extremely complex. All the same, it must be observed that this matter is organized more rationally where they mainly determine strategic guidelines for development, provide the necessary information, and organize large-scale scientific and technical projects. To fulfill these functions properly, a really wide sphere of coverage is necessary. The Department of Trade and Industry in Britain, the FRG Federal Ministry of Economics, and the Ministry of Industry and Foreign Trade in Japan are in charge of a very broad range of sectors—and not only trade and industry, but also service sphere. But now let us risk crossing the dividing line. In Poland, for instance, a single ministry of industry has been set up within the framework of the economic reform. Hungary is amalgamating spheres of activity and reducing the number of ministries and state committees, a similar approach has long been in evidence in the GDR, and so forth. Ministries with wide coverage, not “fragmented” ones—that is the principle. Such ministries cannot and will not regulate enterprises’ activity down to the trivia or issue them with large numbers of normatives and detailed order plans, on whose fulfillment the enterprises will spend so many resources and efforts that they have nothing left over for anything else. When affairs are organized in this way, a state department can speedily organize the fulfillment of key scientific and technical programs with the participation of many firms and enterprises, like, for instance, the Japanese programs for launching the production of sophisticated computers and integrated circuits.

It is well-known that in the leading capitalist countries many state enterprises are being denationalized. Of course, denationalization as carried out by conservative governments causes many acute social problems. But something else must be borne in mind. Today there must be only an efficient state sector. State enterprises, often monopolies, which are “maintained” by the state budget and in effect lose the incentive to increase profitability are an impossible luxury. Like, for instance, the former Japanese state railroads, the British coal industry and railroads, steel and certain other enterprises in France. I think the very urgent question now formulated by the Indian leadership, on the impermissibility of turning the state sector into a “swollen leviathan” which suppresses initiative and enterprise, should be seen in the same light.

But it must also be observed that even profitable state monopolies are now being eliminated. I think the present-day development of the world economy prompts us to state frankly that the main incentive for increasing economic efficiency and improving the satisfaction of consumer demand is competition among producers. No suitable alternative has been found, at least thus far. The Bulgarian weekly *IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT* is quite

right to raise directly the question of the development of socialist competition. Is it not time we stopped being afraid of it?

The “emancipation” of enterprises—which, it seems to me, is ultimately impossible without granting them really broad rights in determining prices, product mix, and so forth—and competition among them are two sides of the same coin, a coin which bears the legend: “The growth of efficiency and the satisfaction of people’s needs.” Creating such conditions and at the same time providing people with the necessary social guarantees—is not that the purpose of socialism in our time?

To resolve this task it is important to bring all economic resources into play and stimulate alternative forms of economic management. Here are just two instances. The Berlin chamber of commerce and trade alone incorporates more than 3,000 individual business people of about 100 different professions, mainly offering various services. In Poland approximately 150,000 new individual enterprises have been set up since 1981. The country has set a course of ensuring equal rights for the state, cooperative, and individual sectors in obtaining access to bank credits and raw materials, in taxation, and so forth. Against this background, do not the real conditions for individual and cooperative labor activity in our country still look rather meager? Is it possible seriously to develop this activity on the scale we need without equal basic conditions for economic activity? Obviously not. That can only limit the number of such enterprises and cause spiraling prices for their output. The opposite is what is required.

We are no longer on the threshold of major changes, we are well into that process. Of course, much remains to be tested, developed, and interpreted. It is dangerous to force the pace. But sluggishness is also dangerous. We are living in a very rapidly changing world.

Curbs on Free Spending of Plant Profits Viewed
PM251329 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 1

[M. Berger “Economic Review”: “What Can Be Done With Profits”]

[Text] Indeed, what? At first sight this is a strange question. If the resources are there, then the labor collective will make best use of them while observing both its own and state interests. But today even the nonspecialist knows that having money still does not mean having the opportunity to spend it as you see fit. Freedom of choice and breadth of supply in the presence of high effective demand are the ideal of complete large-scale economic accountability [khozraschet], but as yet we are only on the way to it. Many people are resolving more modest problems than the successful investment of resources: How to operate without loss and how to reach even the planned degree of profitability?

All the same, the radical economic reform and the development of economic accountability will presumably enable enterprises to operate not only without debts but also with a profit, both planned and above-plan. What opportunities will this open up for them?

There is already definite experience here—some enterprises, as is well-known, switched experimentally to economic accountability a year ago. It is possible to predict the future for those who joined the pioneers of economic accountability as of January this year—the main avenues for radical economic reform are well-known.

Everything is more or less clear as far as planned profits are concerned. Funds are set up according to long-term normatives: funds for production development, material incentives, and social development. The appropriate resources are planned (planned profit) for them and there must be no problems in realizing this part of the earned funds. This is, so to speak, the theoretical model. Practical work has posed a number of difficult questions which still have to be resolved.

We will not concern ourselves with the fact that the planned funds are often not backed up with resources. That is, the resources are planned but they are not available and, although the money has been earned, it is impossible to obtain, reconstruct, or construct everything planned. Let us attribute this situation to growing pains. Let us speak of the allocation of profits in theory.

"The separate existence of funds for material incentives, production development, and sociocultural measures with a fixed percentage for payments for these requirements is a sign of distrust in the collective," V. Pashchenko, general director of the Moscow "Frezer" Production Association, which has operated economic accountability for a year, thinks. "For the normatives are set for the entire 5-year plan, yet very diverse, sometimes unpredictable situations and needs for expenditure on various items crop up. Today, for instance, more money is needed for material incentives, but tomorrow more may be needed for housing. But under the existing situation, it is forbidden to transfer money from one of these funds to another, however pressing the need."

You can only agree with "Frezer's" director. Certainly expenditure must be controlled, but how? There are, of course, people who may spend all their pay in a single day in a restaurant. This is an exception which cannot serve to justify paying wages with rubles for different purposes, so to speak: so much for food, so much for industrial goods, so much for transport expenses.... So why does it seem normal and necessary to pay the collective's economically accountable earnings according to precisely this principle of "different rubles"? Would it not be more correct to acknowledge the labor collective's competency and entrust it, in the shape of the council, the administration, and public organizations, with deciding how and on what to spend the money earned?

But all that applies to planned profit. For whatever the reason, there are fewer questions about it. But what about unplanned profits?

Today there is no mechanism for realizing these resources. Furthermore, the existing practice of defining the state order (and it is indeed practice since the statute regarding the state order does not yet exist) makes it practically impossible to find an outlet for the additional profits. What can you purchase at your discretion when the output of many enterprises and whole sectors whose goods are of particular interest for the consumer is "swallowed by the state order"?

What can the Volga Truck Plant acquire with the R130 million in above-plan profit which it gained last year? Buy a machine tool, for instance, from "Frezer"? But all "Frezer's" output apart from packaging and swarf goes toward the state order... In its turn "Frezer" or another enterprise "with revenue" may want to buy a bus, but practically all the vehicles produced by the Ministry of the Automotive Industry are incorporated in the state order.

What is to be done? The state order needs to have a stable ceiling, and everyone very much hopes that the statute will reflect this point. Then the free proportion of output could be brought into economically accountable circulation.

Moreover, specialists are proposing that a reserve of resources be provided for to provide "goods to absorb" an enterprise's funds in a planned fashion. For this purpose it will be necessary to engage in large-scale forecasting of enterprises' economically accountable capabilities and in estimating prospective buyers' profits.

An original option for resolving the problem is being proposed by the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, whose plants earned above-plan profits of R350 million in their first year of economic accountability but have not as yet found a use for the money: No funds, no quotas, no resources.... The ministry is planning to create a sectorial financial and credit center.

Enterprises possessing free resources will invest them with the rights of shareholders in the center, whose council of directors will decide how to use the funds: What to reconstruct and to whom and at what rate to give credit. The center will be fundamentally different from the ministry's centralized fund in that the credit granted by it will be repaid (with interest), chiefly via output from the enterprise which is given the assistance. The result will be not "money-money" exchange but the "money-output" exchange we all want.

People in the Ministry of the Automotive Industry do not preclude the possibility of pooling the capital of groups of enterprises from various sectors whose final product is the automobile.

In short an active quest is under way for options, each of which has its merits. The main thing is to ensure that economically accountable income can be spent beneficially. Otherwise it becomes pointless.

Murakhovskiy Chairs Forum on Astrakhan Oblast
PM271109 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Concern for Nature"]

[Text] A routine session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for environmental conservation and the rational utilization of natural resources was held 25 January.

It examined the question of the observance of nature conservation legislation in Astrakhan Oblast. The commission noted that nature conservation work carried out at the oblast's enterprises and farms does not comply with the modern requirements for the rational use of nature. The Astrakhan Oblispolkom, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry are fulfilling in an unsatisfactory manner the measures outlined by the 20 November 1980 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "on the comprehensive utilization of the land, water, and fish resources of the Volga-Akhtubinsk floodlands and the Volga delta in Astrakhan Oblast." Environmental pollution is continuing. The discharge into the atmosphere of pollutants from stationary sources is not only not being reduced but has more than quadrupled in 1988 by comparison with 1981. The demands of nature conservation legislation in installing projects of the Astrakhan gas complex are being grossly violated. The discharge of polluted sewage into water expanses is in excess of 1.5 cubic kilometers. Many cities and settlements in the oblast and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR, and the RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services are not adequately supplied with effective water treatment installations. Agricultural enterprises are violating the rules for storing and using toxic chemicals, which is leading to land and water pollution. Questions of the burial of industrial waste are being resolved poorly and of 154 domestic waste dumps 144 fail to meet sanitation norms.

The commission denounced the practice of implementing production activity and developing municipal services on the oblast's territory without the timely implementation of nature conservation measures guaranteeing the reliable conservation of the environment and noted that the Astrakhan Oblispolkom (the chairman is A.P. Guzhvin) is failing to exert due influence on the implementation of effective nature conservation work by the enterprises and organizations on the oblast's territory.

The commission demanded that the leaders of the USSR Minister of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR, the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, and other ministries and departments and the enterprises, organizations, and farms which are undertaking economic activity in the lower Volga and Caspian region and also the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the Astrakhan Oblispolkom take exhaustive steps to eliminate the violations existing here in the procedure for the rational use of nature in full accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers instructions set forth in the resolution "on the fundamental restructuring of nature conservation in the country."

The commission also examined the question of specifying means of felling in prohibited areas of forests protecting the spawning grounds of valuable food fish. It was noted that these forests are of important social and nature conservation significance. The commission deemed it inexpedient to carry out dense fellings in these forests.

The commission session was led by V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman.

Aganbegyan Answers Listeners on Self-Financing

LD251926 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 25 January broadcasts a 30-minute recorded program "On the Road to Radical Reform" in which Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, in the studio, answers listeners questions posed by correspondent Tamara Kashkarova.

Kashkarova begins by asking: What are the first results and difficulties of the self-financing system in operation?

Aganbegyan answers: In 1986 we only had two enterprises working according to this system—the Volzhskiy Motor Vehicle Works and the Sumi Frunze Machine Building Association, whereas in 1987 enterprises of five industries were working in the new way. On the whole, experience is good so far and much has been brought to light, but we are not yet able to say we have attained a radical breakthrough. This is linked to various difficulties. There are objective difficulties, since the process of going over to the new system commenced in the middle of a 5-year plan, with its own targets and tasks and capital investments having already been allocated, thus restricting the enterprise's freedom of maneuver. Secondly, this process of going over to self-financing is taking place in the conditions of the old price system, in a situation in which 13% of all industrial enterprises are loss making. Thirdly, the centralized system of material and technical supplies, yet to be replaced by the wholesale trade system, had to be retained.

All this objectively puts restrictions on the rights of the enterprise, so this process of transition will continue through 1989. From 1990, or 1991, we will have our 13th 5-Year plan, compiled on the basis of the new economic mechanism. The difficulties so far brought to light reveal poor preparation on the part of enterprises and ministries and the fact that retraining has lagged behind. All this has to do with the fact that time is at a premium now.

Kashkarova asks: Why is it that the rank-and-file working man has so far been unable to see any results of the economic restructuring?

Aganbegyan answers: Many Soviet families have not yet experienced the benefits of perestroika; only some of them have. In 1986 and 1987 housing handed over for use increased by 15%: an additional 1.5-2 million people got new housing. In the past 20 years we built 2 million apartments a year. This figure is to increase to 3 million by the start of the 1990's. Over the period 1986-1987, agricultural output increased by 10%—and meat production increased by approximately 12%, which is more than in the preceding 7 years. The average life span went up during this period from 68 to 70 years. Schools offered more places, kindergarten waiting lists were cut.

Apart from the benefits in the area of enhancing people's prosperity—and that, of course, is terribly important—there are other things. I think everyone has, all the same, begun to feel that it is easier to breathe. Just how much the entire system of information has changed, your own TV; take the "90 minutes" broadcast, for instance. How pleasant it is to put the radio on. Include here the cinema, theater, literature, periodicals—there has, after all, been an unprecedented surge in subscriptions for the year 1988. It has gone up 1 and 1/2 times, doubled, all these voluminous periodicals. It is no coincidence here that people pay their own money for them; this shows the public interest. It is here, it seems to me, that the most serious changes for the better have taken place.

Kashkarova asks: How will lossmaking enterprises tackle the process of switching over to financial autonomy?

Aganbegyan answers: The state will subsidize them. After the 1989-1990 price reform lossmaking will indicate poor work, so the process of analyzing the performance of bad enterprises is already underway, to rectify shortcomings in advance of the reform. If this does not work, the Law on the State Enterprise does provide for enterprises being dissolved. Ministries can only be held administratively accountable for such failures, for, after all, it is not ministries that are going over to the system of financial autonomy. The final responsibility rests with the enterprise.

Kashkarova asks: Have we not become too monetarist in our approach?

Aganbegyan answers: No, remuneration ought to be commensurate with performance. The role of conscience, conscientious attitude to one's work cannot be overestimated, though.

Kashkarova asks: What social guarantees exist to ensure that the restructuring process is not halted or reversed?

Aganbegyan answers: The main source and strength of this process is democratization writ large; taking the form, in the economy, of going over to a self-management system. The party conference, scheduled for the end of June, will examine further democratization in society and within the party. Ours are comprehensive measures, we do not go for half-measures. They are not evolutionary, but revolutionary measures. Restructuring has been undergoing a process of widening, deepening, and gathering momentum since the April plenum.

RSFSR Foreign Trade Association Created

LD260512 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1609 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Summary] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—A TASS correspondent reports:

The Rosvneshtorg Association, which has just been created, has held talks with representatives of Egyptian business circles, Chinese foreign trade organizations, and some Western firms interested in economic cooperation with enterprises of the RSFSR.

Ivan Belotserkovskiy, Rosvneshtorg chairman, told a TASS correspondent that the association was set up by the RSFSR Council of Ministers to help enterprises able to produce goods for export. It will help them to import equipment and get licenses. Foreign customers will be offered fuel and raw materials, equipment for municipal services, instruments, textiles, agricultural products, musical instruments, handicrafts, and many other items. Many enterprises have suggested export items and the main demand for imports is for production equipment.

They will cooperate with foreign firms by such means as production cooperation, compensation deals, and the tying up of joint enterprises.

Five specialized firms of Rosvneshtorg are carrying out export and import operations at the demand of ministries and departments of the republic, kray, and oblast executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, the Moscow and Leningrad Gorispolkoms, and other organizations, associations, and enterprises. The new organization includes the existing Dalintorg and Lenfintorg associations. The first specializes in trade with Asian and Pacific countries, and the second with Scandinavia. They are now acting not just as intermediaries, but are actively organizing cooperation in production and giving help in production and services.

'Innovation' of Shareholding in Lvov Viewed

PM261345 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent V. Kritsyak article: "Workers Buying Shares"—article is followed by IZVESTIYA editorial commentary]

[Text] Lvov—Workers at the Nikolayev Structural Components Combine in Lvov have started investing their own money in the implementation of the socioeconomic development program. They have become the owners of shares whose value is secured on the enterprise's property.

Thanks to the introduction of the collective contract it has become possible here for more care to be taken of people. In every shop there are rest areas with refrigerators and crockery. There is a store, a sauna, and sports facilities. Housing and a kindergarten have been built and a greenhouse is under construction. The combine's production council is expanding the opportunities for satisfying working people's leisure needs.

All this has helped people to "bear" a tough economically accountable system and has taught the collective to earn money independently and cover its costs. The emphasis on end results and the desire to cut costs and achieve success with the minimum of expenditure allowed the enterprise to make a profit of around R700,000 last year—almost double the plan figure.

So just why did a highly successful enterprise need to borrow money from its own workers?

"To give each worker a direct interest in improving production efficiency and boosting profits," P. Venchak, director of the combine, said. "We intend to issue shares to a total value of up to R200,000. The enterprise could manage without these funds. It could borrow from the bank. But by using the money from the sale of shares—first and foremost on construction and modernization—we will be able to accelerate technical progress, work more productively, and thereby improve dividends. At the moment the workers' assembly has set a dividend of 5%, to be paid at the end of the year. If profits grow this will also rise and could even reach 10%."

This innovation is successfully supplementing the range of economic measures introduced at the combine. These include the strengthening of teams and the introduction of the posts of team leader-foremen, who has been given control of output quality in lower-level collectives. Technical control staff numbers have been reduced while barriers have simultaneously been erected in the way of shoddy workmanship. If shoddy workmanship is discovered the team leader-foreman is stripped of all kinds of bonus payments.

The transition to an nonregulated [beznaryadnaya] pay system has proved its worth. It was preceded by job certification. Distribution of earnings—which last year averaged almost R240—has been made directly dependent on a shop's contribution and the overall results of the combine's work. A 13th pay check is issued taking account of the workers' activeness and conscientiousness.

Under these conditions shareholders do not need to be persuaded to work conscientiously. The enterprise director will report to shareholders every quarter on how the funds are being spent.

Commentary by IZVESTIYA Economics Department
[subhead]

We talk, write, and hear about "frozen assets" and "dead money" so often that we sometimes stop pondering on the pernicious essence for the economy of this phenomenon, which deprives money of one of its most important functions—as a means of circulation. This phenomenon is well known to everyone, from homemakers to ministers: Money is earned, but it is impossible to exchange it for goods or for the real benefits of personal consumption or production. Thousands and millions accumulate in enterprise accounts and people's savings books, quelling the desire to... earn more. In the Ukraine—where the report originated—investments in savings banks grew by almost R3 billion in January-December last year alone (the figure for the country as a whole was R14.6 billion).

But the surprising thing is that we see this anomaly virtually as the norm. On the other hand, after reading the TASS correspondent's report, some people will probably shudder: "payments from shares?", "dividends?"... Even the words seem "alien."

No, it is not this that we should fear, but the fact that the regrettably habitual freezing of funds undermines faith in one of the main principles of socialism—to each according to their work! We should fear the fact that without a financial improvement of the economy, during which new phenomena—which we sometimes find unusual may emerge (the sale of shares by the "Adazhi" agricultural firm and the creation of a consortium based on the Moscow Oblast Administration of the Agro-Industrial Bank and the "Shchapovo" farm)—a radical economic reform will also be impossible. Some of these innovations may not prove worthwhile; others, however, will be extensively disseminated. We will monitor all this attentively and in the fullness of time return to consider the aforementioned points and others. It is important not to fear such innovations.

Will people and enterprises strive to increase their income through efficient work if this results merely in a growth in savings rather than in the consumption of actual goods? So the more ways we find to bring money into business, the better.

Agricultural

Livestock Wintering Progress Assessed

PM261641 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
20 Jan 88 p 3

[Animal specialist M. Glinka "Agricultural Review":
"You Can't Talk Milk Yields Up"]

[Text] The country's stockmen are in a good mood. Last year they increased the sale of livestock and poultry by 6% and milk production by 2% compared with 1986. Perhaps these "pluses" are not all that great, but they have appeared for several years now and indicate a very definite turning point in this important sector whose indicators in the past were steadily declining. What is particularly important is that this is the result of a different approach toward the development of livestock raising: Livestock raising is switching to the path of intensification, and even the first results show the advantages and long-term prospects of this path. Livestock productivity is increasing, and milk yields have reached 2,614 kg—this target has been reached for the first time.

All these are indisputable achievements. All the same, today we should be talking about what has still not been done. The results achieved on kolkhoz and sovkhoz livestock units are only part of what was planned, and the lines at meat and milk counters constantly remind livestock unit workers how much and how persistently they will have to work. The wintering of livestock is in progress. By no means all farms have proved fully prepared for it and are carrying it out to high standards. In the RSFSR in the first winter quarter meat production declined in 17 regions, and milk production declined in 21 regions. In the Dagestan, Tuva, and Yakut ASSR's, Kalinin and Astrakhan Oblasts, and Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast the annual milk yield per cow is less than 2,000 kg.

The—unfortunately sad—experience of the Khakasiya stockmen shows how quickly poorly organized wintering can lose what has been gained in the summer. They began the year quite well and planned on a milk yield of not less than 2,400 kg per cow. But in October—the 1st month in which the animals should be kept in winter quarters—to "economize on feed," the local specialists left the herds out in the pastures. The entire increase in milk yield since the beginning of the year was lost within a single month. The final result of 2,376 kg did not please anyone.

Khakasiya is harsh country, and some losses can be ascribed to the climate there. But how do the dairy livestock unit workers of Vologda, Novgorod, Kostroma, Tula, Yaroslavl and Kirov Oblasts and the Komi and Karelian ASSR's explain the fall? How do the Kuybyshev, Kurgan, and Udmurt stockmen justify themselves? An "objective" reason can always be found if you want one. For example, in the Kuybyshev Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee they consider that the fall in milk yields

(over the 1st 3 months of wintering 18 kg of milk per cow was lost, more than 5,000 tonnes in all) was caused by the shortage of feed, particularly concentrated feed. At first glance it is a weighty argument. But let us compare the state of affairs in the Kuybyshev livestock units with the livestock units, for example, in Tataria, which are in similar conditions. An interesting picture emerges. In Kuybyshev Oblast they laid in almost 24 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock, and in the Tatar ASSR less than 22 quintals. The former laid in only 58% of their own feed grain as compared to last year, and the latter only 55%. In December they fed 128 kg of concentrates per standard head of livestock and 87 kg respectively. The results? I have already mentioned the Kuybyshev ones. But at the Tataria livestock units over the 3 winter months the milk yield per cow increased (against last year's level) by 16 kg and the gross milk yield increased by 1,000 tonnes. So that it is a question not so much of feed stocks as of their inability to use them sensibly.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1915' Satellite Launched

LD261637 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1627 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1915, was launched in the Soviet Union today.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

initial period of revolution, 90.3 mins

apogee, 402 km

perigee 207 km

orbital inclination, 72.9°

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

News Conference on 'Mir' Mission Held

PM271355 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88
Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Results of Glorious Voyage. Cosmonauts' Press Conference"]

[Text] Soviet spacecraft and orbital stations are a reliable base for using orbital equipment in the interests of the economy and for preparing for long interplanetary flights. The Mir station expedition, which ended 3 weeks ago and during which an absolute record for continuous work in space—326 days—was set, is a convincing illustration of this.

Yu. Romanenko, the commander of this glorious voyage and participant in three space expeditions, and his companions A. Laveykin, A.A. Aleksandrov, and A. Levchenko met 20 January with Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Leaders from the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, the Cosmonaut Training Center, and the Mission Control Center and scientists also came to the meeting.

USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut Yu. Romanenko delivered a report on the work of the crew on board the Mir manned orbital complex. He recalled the main phases in the program of the expedition that started almost 1 year ago, on 6 February. The crew was set the following tasks:

To equip the Mir station with additional equipment and instruments delivered by the Progress automatic transport craft;

To dock with the Kvant astrophysical module and demothball and check the functioning of its scientific apparatus;

To conduct geophysical, astrophysical, technological, biotechnological, and technical experiments and medical and biological research, and also test the Mir complex' onboard systems and apparatus.

The long and complex flight program was able to be implemented, the commander pointed out, thanks to the use of the third-generation Mir station for research and experiments, and thanks to the creation of a permanently operating manned orbital complex with the specialized Kvant module. A. Laveykin and I were lucky enough to be the first to use this unusual astrophysical laboratory in orbit.

What is the Kvant module? It is essentially a scientific center designed to perform a huge long-term astrophysical research program. It is equipped with the unique "Roentgen" specialized orbital observatory, which consists of four telescopes and is designed for spectroscopic analysis of X-ray sources over a wide range of energies. The "Glazar" ultraviolet telescope, an apparatus for recording high-energy particle spectra, and an installation for conducting biotechnological experiments are also mounted on the module. The creation of Kvant is a clear example of international cooperation in space—its apparatus has been created by specialists from the Soviet Union, Britain, the Netherlands, the FRG, Switzerland, and the European Space Agency.

A feature of the Kvant module is that it does not use jet motors for stabilization and reorientation, as is normal, but special electrically driven flywheels: so-called gyrodynes. This considerably economizes on motor fuel.

The onboard computer was responsible for the telescope's precision sighting. As you already know, we succeeded in delighting the world's astrophysicists with

the results of our observation of a supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud and also with our photographs of other interesting sources—pulsars and quasars.

Of course, observing the stars is very interesting. Yu. Romanenko went on, but we did not forget the earth, either. A great deal of time was devoted to investigating natural resources. At geologists' request we clarified the map of the oil- and gas-bearing areas of the Caspian Sea and photographed the geological structures of the Sikhote-Alin and the Caucasus Mountains. We observed the ripening of the harvest in the Ukraine, the Volga, and Central Asia. We recorded pollution in the vicinity of the large towns. We studied the ecological situation in the Transbaykal area and in the area of Pripyat. Many results have also been accumulated in other sections of the orbital laboratory, and a substantial contribution has been made to space technology and the medical support methods. I will point out that the total volume of experiments conducted on the complex during this expedition rose, thanks to the use of automatic operation of scientific apparatus.

The use of the Kvant astrophysical module and the technological installations required an increase in the capacity of the onboard electric power supply. With this in view, individual components for a third solar battery panel were delivered to the Mir station. Two extravehicular space walks—lasting 2 hours, and 3 hours 15 minutes respectively—were made in order to mount and assemble this panel. As a result, the capacity of the onboard electric power supply was increased by almost one-third.

The joint work with the Soviet-Syrian visiting expedition comprising A. Viktorenko and M. Faris, and also A. Aleksandrov, who arrived with them for further work, was an important event in our space vigil, Yu. Romanenko said. The atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding that prevailed for this whole week in the orbital complex was somewhat clouded by the thought of A. Laveykin's early return to earth. We were sorry to part with Sasha, for he did so much to ensure that the Kvant astrophysical module started to function normally. Yet he had practically no chance to work on it himself. But the laws of space medicine are strict, and they are only strict for the cosmonauts' own good. I must give Aleksandr his due—he did everything to ensure that his successor as flight engineer, A. Aleksandrov, would feel completely at home on the station in a short time.

The transfer of the orbital complex to the next crew during the flight was a feature of the concluding phase of our work. We have usually handed over the station "in absentia" when the complex was unmanned. This caused a mass of difficulties and cost the old and new crews a great deal of time in drawing up detailed descriptions and searching for necessary items. It also complicated the new crew's work in the initial period.

So on 29 December we returned to earth. The landing was normal, and we left the reentry vehicle with the help of search and rescue specialists. A. Levchenko, as you know, embarked on a new experiment as a test pilot immediately after landing. Aleksandr and I, of course, felt the aftereffects of long weightlessness—he had spent 160 days in orbit, and I had spent 326. However, our general condition was comparatively good, and the process of readaptation to earth conditions passed quite quickly. We are now completely at your disposal and ready to answer questions.

There were many questions, but journalists showed particular interest in the problem of medical support for the longest-ever space flight. A. Grigoryev, deputy director of the Biomedical Problems Institute, talked in detail about the measures elaborated by Soviet doctors to eradicate the unfavorable effect of weightlessness on the human organism. But the main thing, he stressed, is every cosmonaut's efforts to keep fit. Yu. Romanenko, for instance, did not miss a single workout on the "running track."

Medics also reported that an examination of the expedition's commander after almost a year's work in orbit did not reveal any qualitatively new, hitherto unknown reactions by the organism to weightlessness. Moreover, the post-flight changes were in the given instance even less significant than in certain shorter flights.

A GDR radio correspondent asked A. Levchenko: "Straight after landing, you moved from the reentry vehicle to a TU-154 and took off. How successful was this flight, and when will a Soviet space shuttle be launched?"

"After the landing I felt subjectively quite okay," the cosmonaut-researcher answered. "This was confirmed by the objective results of aircraft control experiment: They were the same as prior to the space flight."

"We have already announced that we are working on a space shuttle system," A. Dunayev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, said. "I can add that we are nearing the end. Of course, we will not launch such a vessel without completing the full cycle of test work. We will certainly announce a launch as soon as we are ready for it."

Journalists were interested in the results of the scientific research conducted on the Mir complex.

In response to this question, A. Aleksandrov quoted, in particular, the example of using conditions of weightlessness to obtain extremely pure preparations and biologically active substances necessary for medicine, livestock farming, and other sectors of the economy. The "Ruchey" and "Svetlana" installations onboard the station make it possible to purify these products in a way impossible under earth conditions.

Confirming the idea of the efficiency of the orbital laboratory's various sections, B. Balebanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, announced that overall, more than 700 astrophysical sessions had been held during the expedition, in the course of which unique events in the universe had been recorded.

Military

Collegium Addresses Draft, Training

PM251644 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88
Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA Military Department article under the rubric "We Serve the Soviet Union!": "Raising Patriots"]

[Text] Last week the USSR Defense Ministry Collegium examined problems associated with training young people for service in the Soviet Armed Forces. It has been more than 18 months since the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on this question. What has changed in that time? That is what was discussed in detail. Unfortunately, it was noted, there has yet to be a radical breakthrough in this work.

The preparation of young people for military service, like, indeed, the service itself, is causing concern. A great many bodies are now "responsible" for the education and training of the future soldier. But too many cooks spoil the soup. Responsibility has long been lifted from the family. Schools are also responsible purely symbolically. Komsomol activists have in recent years been more interested in the scale of work, or have hidden away in the quiet of their offices—far away from young people. What about DOSAAF organizations and military commissariats? The former are more interested in including everyone in training, the latter in enlisting and drafting people and dispatching them to their units on time.

But what kind of person the future soldier is—someone with excellent marks in his studies, a production innovator, or a parasite, alcoholic, or drug addict—this does not seem to worry many people. The Army will sort them out, they say: It is the school of life.

The collegium session analyzed searchingly the work of the many military commissariats which have too little influence on the organization of initial military training in schools and vocational and technical institutions and on military-patriotic education.

Recently, abstract pacifist views have been expressed here and there. In the schools, lessons in military matters are regarded as of secondary importance. Not all leaders of enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes devote the proper attention to the training of predraft people. In Kuybyshev and Kalinin Oblasts, for instance, last year several hundred young men were not covered by military

training, and the figure was even higher in the capital. At many vocational and technical institutions military training sessions are taken by persons not competent to do so.

Omissions in preparing young men for service are particularly common in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Republics, Estonia, and Kazakhstan. Here many draftees have only a poor knowledge of Russian, and there are even some who are totally illiterate. In 1983 there were two of them, in 1986—103, and last year—230. Unlikely, but true!

Nor is the physical fitness of draftees what it should be.

The party and government instructed party and soviet organs and public organizations to improve in every way young people's preparation for the fulfillment of their sacred duty and to carry out the military-patriotic education of the young generation widely. Military commissariats, DOSAAF organizations, veterans, former internationalist servicemen... Look what an effective, real force there is! They are up to the task of skillfully educating those whom we entrust with weapons!

'Soviet Fighting Man' Series Begins

OW261353 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2240 GMT on 13 January carries a 20-minute program titled "The Soviet Fighting Man" cinema journal prepared by the Central Documentary Film Studio. The program begins with a title indicating that this is "Cinema Review No 1 for 1988", then shows the Neva embankment, cruiser "Avrora", cutting to show an MI-6 helicopter, naval ships, tanks, and BMP vehicles. Video then shows Colonel General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy Deputy Chief. He introduces the new program and says: "Today you are watching the first issue of a new cinema production—cinema review 'The Soviet Fighting Man.' We hope this cinema review will show unique films preserved for us by history and made by frontline cinematographers."

As the narrator speaks about some 200 camera operators who risked their lives during World War II to record history, video shows a meeting of decorated war veterans and a woman recalling the first day of the war. Video then cuts to wartime footage, including scenes depicting war correspondents, then cuts to shots of veterans watching documentary films and laying wreaths at a war memorial.

As video shows present-day military training which includes shots of an aircraft simulator, the narrator lauds "the role of the Soviet Armed Forces in saving the world from a nuclear catastrophe," and hails the Soviet soldiers for their efforts in mastering the

intricacies of military art. Video then shows more helicopters, BMP vehicles, field guns, and an interview with a war veteran who recalls the recapturing of Klin and other cities. The narrator links present-day troops to fighting men of old who protected their motherland, as video shows photos of post-World War II destruction and contemporary, restored monuments and buildings.

The narrator then notes that the Soviet fighting man is an internationalist fighting man. Video cuts to show Colonel Viktor Nekrasov, who filmed Soviet troops in Afghanistan, describing their military feats. Video shows troops, apparently returning to a Central Asian republic from Afghanistan, being presented flowers by local girls. Video cuts to show commemorative activities at Borodino and a reenactment of the 1812 battle. As the narrator links the heroism of troops at Borodino with Soviet feats in World War II battles, video cuts to show large-scale military maneuvers of armored units with SU-25 "Frogfoot" and MI-24 helicopter air support, being viewed by foreign military observers.

Video cuts to show Volkogonov saying: "Esteemed Comrades, you have probably noticed that when authors, journalists, and sociologists write about our army, they often depict the images of gigantic cigars of ballistic missiles, dynamic types of nuclear-powered submarines, superintellectual computers. We hope that the cinema review will help us to get a closer feeling for the heroic history of Soviet Armed Forces, to deeper understand the contemporary situation and military training, to learn about present Army life, and to deeper understand the greatness of Soviet patriotism. The crest of the scientific and technical progress which has risen unprecedentedly high has changed the technical image of the Army. However, the main thing which shaped and will continue to shape the Army, is the man, in whose consciousness the love toward our fatherland, the motherland—the cradle of all our achievements and hopes—organically harmonizes with his devotion to communist ideals."

Former Ukrainian Civil Defense Chief Dies

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16 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of V.D. Lavrinenkov]

[Excerpts] Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General of Aviation Vladimir Dmitriyevich Lavrinenkov, active participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died after a brief illness. He dedicated all his conscious life to selfless service to the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1942.

V.D. Lavrinenkov was born into a peasant family in Ptakhino Village in Smolensk Oblast's Pochinkovskiy Rayon 17 May 1919. [passage omitted]

In 1977-1984 he was chief of staff and deputy chief of civil defense in the Ukrainian SSR. In subsequent years V.D. Lavrinenkov served in the Marshal of the Soviet Union A.M. Vasilevskiy Military Academy of the Ground Forces Air Defense. [passage omitted]

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, D.T. Yazov, V.S. Shevchenko, V.A. Masol, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurkotkin, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, I.A. Gerasimov, V.A. Silakov, V.V. Litvinov, I.M. Maltsev, A.G. Smirnov, V.V. Osipov, V.A. Sharygin, M.N. Kalinin, Yu.T. Chesnokov, A.I. Koldunov, V.A. Prudnikov, N.S. Bondarchuk, B.I. Dukhov, M.V. Stepanyuk.